

Cabinet okay for five-day week

By ASHER WALLFISH
and JEFF BLACK
Jerusalem Post Reporters

The government gave Finance Minister Moshe Nissim the green light yesterday to negotiate the introduction of a five-day work week with the Histadrut, within the context of talks over a two-year wage agreement.

The vast majority of the ministers approved the shorter work week proposal in principle. But the ministers made it plain that the five-day week could not come about in the immediate future and attached a host of conditions to their approval.

Three ministers voted against the five-day week: Science and Development Minister Gideon Palti and Ministers-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens and Yitzhak Moda'i.

Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev, Absorption Minister Ya'acov Tsuri, and Minister-without-Portfolio Yigal Hurvitz abstained.

Among the cabinet's conditions were that:

Public sector wages will not go up nor will the number of work hours go down, and the wage agreement will hold for two years;

Wage stability in other sectors must not be affected by the five-day week in the civil service;

Talks will be held with employers to ensure that the work week in the private sector is not affected and that workers in that sector do not make wage demands to compensate them for the fact that civil servants are to work one day less.

The cabinet also decided that Nissim should not sign anything with the Histadrut, until the principles of the agreement are submitted to the committee of economic ministers and then brought back to the cabinet for approval.

During the discussion, Palti proposed that since the government could not afford to take chances with the economy in its present state, it should seek advice and draw on the experience of other countries that have changed over to a five-day week.

Rabin said he anticipated many difficulties in his own sphere, the security establishment, when it came to planning the five-day week.

Tsuri said that since he favoured wage rises in the public sector, he could not vote for a five-day week proposal that ruled out all such rises.

Histadrut trade union leaders yesterday landed the cabinet's decision.

Meir Gati, the trade union department's deputy chairman, called the decision a "historic achievement for the Histadrut." He said the Histadrut, by pressuring the cabinet, had succeeded in introducing a new social and economic order into Israeli life.

Union leaders stressed that the implementation of a shorter working week would not affect their demands for a wage rise in the public sector.

Nissim said that if the Histadrut did not drop its demands for civil service wage rises and if it rejected the two-year wage agreement, approval for the five-day work week would be revoked.

Haberfeld said he had asked Treasury officials if the cabinet's conditions meant that there would be no wage increase, and that they replied "no" to this. "One has to learn how to read and understand cabinet decisions," Haberfeld told reporters.

Hillel Duda'i, the Treasury's chief wage negotiator, told reporters earlier that the cabinet had, at a previous meeting, undertaken to approve wage increases for the lowest-paid workers in the public sector.

Haberfeld said that the unions would decide today on the format of their negotiating team with the Treasury.



Athenians and tourists romp at the Omnia fountain yesterday as the temperature in the Greek capital soared to 43 degrees Centigrade. The Greek weatherman predicted that the heat wave would start slackening today. (AFP telephoto)

In Greece: At least 300 die Worst July hot spell since 1956

Jerusalem Post Staff
and Agencies

The past 10 days of searing heat not only seems like the worst July hot spell in memory, it is. According to the Meteorological Service in Beit Dagan, very few protracted 7-10 day heat waves have been recorded in the last 35 years, and only in July 1956 were conditions worse than those currently plaguing Israel.

The heat wave in southern Europe, however, has been even more extreme, with record temperatures reached in Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria. Greece continues to be hardest hit, with the toll of heat-related deaths ranging from 300 to 700 according to hospital officials.

Athens cemeteries were ordered to stay open for weekend burials, and the government declared a state of emergency, urging people to stay out of the mid-day sun to avoid dehydration.

In Israel, the Health Ministry said,

admissions to hospital emergency rooms for heat-related conditions had not increased in the past few days. The ministry recommended that adults drink 14 glasses of water per day, and that the elderly, infants and children should drink as much as possible.

The public are urged to drink only in places where they are sure the water is potable, and not from unmarked fountains or streams.

The danger signs of dehydration are headache, weakness and tiredness and - in babies - decreased alertness and unexplained fever. Immediate medical help should be sought in such circumstances.

The current heat wave in Israel has been caused by the temporary weakening of the seasonal low pressure area over the Persian Gulf. When that system is in force, as it is for most days in the summer, the circulation around the low pressure area brings Israel a cool north-

westerly flow over the Mediterranean.

When the system is weak, the flow stops, and the oppressively hot conditions intensify with each passing day. The lack of wind also drives the humidity up in the coastal plains while the mountain areas are drier.

Temperatures in the coastal plains have been averaging one degree (Celsius) higher than normal, with humidity higher by 5-10 per cent. In Tel Aviv yesterday, the humidity hit 73 per cent. In the mountains, the mercury has soared two to four degrees higher than normal.

Negev temperatures are running up to five degrees higher, and in Eilat, readings of 42-44 degrees (two to four above normal) have been accompanied by a bone-dry five to 10 per cent humidity.

The hardest hit in Greece were the elderly who suffered heart and respiratory problems. But a hospital

(Continued on Page 7)

Peres signals to Soviet Union

M-E missile curbs must be bilateral

By BENNY MORRIS

Post Diplomatic Correspondent
Israel yesterday signalled the Soviet Union that it is willing to stop or slow down its development of medium-range missiles if the Soviets and their Arab client states curb the introduction of such missiles into the Middle East.

This, according to sources in Jerusalem, is the cutting edge of yesterday's "Statement by the Vice Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs," Shimon Peres, directed at the Soviet Union.

After reiterating Israel's willingness to enter into negotiations to establish "a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East," Peres reaffirmed Israel's "readiness to enter into dialogue with all its neighbours in order to reach such an agreement, including accord on the non-introduction of short and medium-range missiles by either side."

The Peres statement was a response to Moscow Radio Hebrew-language broadcasts of last Thursday and Friday warning Israel against the introduction of medium-range, nuclear capable missiles into the area. The Soviet warning came days after the reported successful test firing of a Jericho II missile in the Mediterranean.

The missile, which according to foreign press reports flew 840 kilometres before plunging into the sea, has a maximum range of close to 1,500 kilometres bringing the Soviet's Black Sea naval bases within Israel's range.

The sources said that the Soviets were "surprised" by Israel's "non-acknowledgement" of the Soviets' recent gesture of turning down a Syrian request for a supply of SS23 medium-range missiles. "Peres's statement in effect is a signal to the Soviets that we have received and understood (Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's message)."

The Soviet move, denying the Syrians the SS23, was apparently in response to Foreign Minister Peres's declaration at a meeting two months ago in Rome with Soviet officials that the Soviet supplies of advanced

weaponry to Israel's enemies was forcing Israel to develop new generations of weapons, or to seek to acquire them from the U.S.

The Soviets at that meeting had complained of Israel's increasing strategic-military cooperation with the U.S.

The implication of the Peres announcement yesterday is that Israel is interested in reducing or eliminating altogether from the Middle East both short- and medium-

proposals and the messages relayed through the Moscow Radio Hebrew broadcasts, Peres said that "Israel welcomes the willingness of the USSR to restrain the arms race in our region, as manifested by Moscow's announced intention to avoid introducing short- and medium-range missiles into the Middle East."

Friday's Moscow Radio broadcast said that it was in Israel's interest to join the missile reduction or elimination initiative, as Israel would then be free of the fear that the Soviets would introduce such missiles into the Arab countries.

The Soviets have no intention of stationing such missiles in Arab countries, stated the radio broadcast, but the Soviet Union had the right - in accordance with Soviet-Arab treaty provisions - to do so.

The Peres statement was approved over the weekend by Prime Minister Shamir and Defence Minister Rabin. Yesterday morning morning Peres read it to the cabinet.

Both Education Minister Yitzhak Navon and Minister without Portfolio Moshe Arens sought a discussion of the statement and its proposals before it was made public, but Peres said that while the ministers would be discussing the matter at some point in the future, the issue's sensitivity and media pressure required that the statement be publicized immediately.

Arens told *The Jerusalem Post* that he expects the matter will be discussed soon.

The ministers agreed that the statement be issued by Peres rather than as a formal "Government of Israel" statement since the Soviet warnings and proposals had not been formal Soviet government statements.

Russian Orthodox Church mission here

A delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church arrived last night for a seven-day visit. The five-man team, which includes two church officials, came to celebrate 140 years since the establishment of a Russian mission in Israel.

'U.S. could retaliate for Persian Gulf mine'

WASHINGTON. - The U.S. is "perfectly capable of taking retaliatory steps" if it discovers which nation laid the mine that damaged the Kuwaiti-owned tanker Bridgeton in the Gulf Friday, Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger declared yesterday.

"Those things you don't trumpet in advance," Weinberger said on an ABC television talk show. "You don't call a press conference and announce what you're going to do in operational matters...I don't tell all of those things and I don't tell the date on which we're going to do them or where they're coming from."

"If we find the party that laid the mine we are perfectly capable of

taking retaliatory steps." Weinberger agreed with a questioner that once a mine had exploded "you can't really read the serial number" to establish ownership. He also raised the possibility that the explosion was caused by petroleum vapour in the empty tanker.

"We're just now getting down into the bottom of that tanker. It could have been an internal explosion. I don't think it was. I think it was a mine, but it hasn't been firmly established. Tankers running empty build up very heavy pressure inside those chambers..."

Weinberger said the U.S. "has a mine-sweeping capability in the Persian Gulf; it can be increased and will" (Continued on Page 7)

Mansdorf walks out

By YORAM KESSEL

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
NEW DELHI. - There was high drama yesterday during the last day of Israel's Davis Cup tie with India - which Israel lost 4-0 - but the drama took place off the court rather than on it.

Amos Mansdorf, the hero of Israel's victory over Czechoslovakia in March, suddenly announced that he was quitting the Israel Davis Cup team.

He indicated that he found himself alone and subject to harsh criticism by the rest of the squad. "It is better for one man to leave than seven," he said. (Full story on p. 5)

Israel mission to close in Colombo?

By YORAM KESSEL

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
NEW DELHI. - The Israeli interests section in the U.S. Embassy in the Sri Lankan capital of Colombo, which was opened in 1983, is to be closed down.

This is said to be one of the stipulations of an accord to be signed Wednesday by India and Sri Lanka, designed to resolve the latter's civil strife.

Radio Sri Lanka quoted President Junius Jayewardene as saying that this step would be taken along with an end to a training programme for Sri Lankan soldiers in Pakistan, as part of an attempt to end the years-long conflict with the country's Tamil minority.

Disposable syringes for drug addicts to halt Aids spread

Post Science and Health Reporter

The Health Ministry's task force on Aids will meet today to consider a proposal to distribute free disposable syringes to drug addicts to reduce the spread of Aids.

A small group of Aids-prevention activists in Tel Aviv will apparently beat the ministry to it. The Israel Aids Task Force announced yesterday that it would hand out free disposable syringes to drug addicts, as well as condoms, as a way to prevent the spread of Aids among drug addicts, homosexuals and bisexuals. The group has also opened an information hotline in Hebrew, English and Arabic (03)203121, POB 33602, Tel Aviv.

The distribution of syringes is apparently not illegal. Addicts have been reluctant to get them from governmental sources, so as not to become known as addicts.

The self-help group also sends letters offering help to people who have recently learned that they have the deadly disease or are carrying Aids virus antibodies.

Dreaded desert locust menaces Africa

By ALASTAIR MATHESON

NAIROBI. - New generations of the voracious desert locust insect are already swarming out of their breeding grounds in the arid areas of Eritrea and along the Sudan's Red Sea coast, threatening the rich agricultural lands to the west and south.

Warned that this year's invasion could be on a scale "never seen in recent history," scientists have been meeting here with technicians and prospective donors of aid to plan a strategy for a mass campaign against locusts and west African grasshoppers which will be more effective than last year's effort.

Fortunately for Africa's farmers, while grasshoppers and other species of locusts did some damage to their crops last year, the desert locusts, the most dangerous of all these migratory pests, did not reach the main crop-growing areas. But field workers admit that if they had not been restricted in the use of certain

insecticides last year, they could have killed off more of the desert locusts, and might have avoided this year's greater danger.

Although the technicians put up a strong case in Nairobi for using dieldrin, a powerful insecticide in the same chemical group as DDT, they were over-ruled by those who foot the bill - the governments of Western countries which have banned dieldrin in their own environments for its harmful effects due to its long life.

However, its very quality of persistence is what makes dieldrin more effective against locusts, for even in the tropical conditions of the Horn of Africa it has a killing effect for at least six weeks, as compared with substitute organic chemicals, such as fenitrothion, which last only a few days. This means that aerial and ground spraying, even in desert areas, must be done three times, instead of only once with dieldrin.

Dutch-born entomologist Lukas Brader, who heads the Emergency Centre for Locust Operations at FAO in Rome, and who is coordinating this year's campaign as well as last year's, shares the dilemma of the technicians: "While I agree with the ban on dieldrin, not being able to use it to control the desert locusts makes life much more difficult from a technological point of view, as well as more expensive," he said.

Brader is anxious to avoid the danger of any swarms escaping through the "poison-net" and breeding millions of more locusts further afield. Unlike the other species of locust, the desert variety can breed a new generation in only six weeks, in favourable conditions, and can fly great distances, depending upon the wind.

As a result, a vast swathe of the earth's surface is vulnerable to the depredations of this locust, stretching from Mauritania, on Africa's

Atlantic coast, eastwards as far as Pakistan and India. They fly in swarms so dense that one kilometre can contain as many as 50 million insects, and such a dense swarm is capable of consuming 100 tons of vegetation from each kilometre every day when on land.

With all the wonders of modern technology to choose from, including satellite imagery depicting vulnerable vegetation, modern aircraft, vehicles for the roughest terrain and powerful insecticide, it is ironic that the farmers' oldest enemy, dating back to the biblical era and one of the plagues of ancient Egypt, still defies all man's efforts to destroy it.

And even in the semi-arid areas where the human population is still sparse, the chemical which could conquer the scourge is considered too dangerous to use.

(London Observer Service)

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	26.7.87	MIN.	MAX.	
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GENOVA	12	12	18	Cloudy
PARIS	13	13	18	Cloudy
ROME	14	14	18	Cloudy
VIENNA	15	15	18	Cloudy
ZURICH	16	16	18	Cloudy
BERLIN	17	17	18	Cloudy
MUNICH	18	18	18	Cloudy
STUTTGART	19	19	18	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	20	20	18	Cloudy
COLOGNE	21	21	18	Cloudy
DUSSELDORF	22	22	18	Cloudy
DUISBURG	23	23	18	Cloudy
ESSEN	24	24	18	Cloudy
LEIPZIG	25	25	18	Cloudy
DRESDEN	26	26	18	Cloudy
HAMBURG	27	27	18	Cloudy
MAGDEBURG	28	28	18	Cloudy
BERGAMO	29	29	18	Cloudy
MILAN	30	30	18	Cloudy
BOLOGNA	31	31	18	Cloudy
VERONA	32	32	18	Cloudy
TRIESTE	33	33	18	Cloudy
UDINE	34	34	18	Cloudy
TREVISO	35	35	18	Cloudy
VENEZIA	36	36	18	Cloudy
PORTO TOFANO	37	37	18	Cloudy
PORTO CERVO	38	38	18	Cloudy
PORTO CROCE	39	39	18	Cloudy
PORTO CERVINO	40	40	18	Cloudy
PORTO CROCE	41	41	18	Cloudy
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PORTO CERVINO	48	48	18	Cloudy
PORTO CROCE	49	49	18	Cloudy
PORTO CERVINO	50	50	18	Cloudy

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THE WEATHER

Forecast/Continued hot weather.	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
Humidity	Min-Max	Min-Max	Min-Max
Jerusalem	17	21-30	33
Golan	18	21-30	36
Nahariya	19	21-30	35
Salad	20	21-30	34
Haifa Port	21	21-30	35
Tiberias	22	21-30	34
Nazareth	23	21-30	34
Afula	24	21-30	36
Shimon	25	21-30	35
Tel Aviv	26	21-30	36
B-G Airport	27	21-30	35
Jericho	28	21-30	42
Gaza	29	21-30	32
Bersheba	30	21-30	31
Eilat	31	21-30	49

Demjanjuk to testify

John Demjanjuk is to take the stand today in his own defense at the special court in Jerusalem's Binyanei Ha'uma.

Demjanjuk's appearance will open the defense in the trial that began eight months ago with the emotional testimonies of Treblinka survivors who identified Demjanjuk as "Ivan the Terrible."

Veteran journalist Aharon Bacher, 45

TEL AVIV (Itim). - One of Israel's leading journalists, Aharon Bacher, died in his sleep yesterday morning of a heart attack. He was 45.

Bacher, a veteran *Yedioth Aharanot* reporter and columnist, recently returned from a three-year stint in New York as his newspaper's correspondent there.

Born in Bulgaria, Bacher and his family came to Israel six years later and settled in Jaffa. After completing his military service he studied history and political science at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

He began his journalistic career with *Yedioth* 20 years ago, writing a regular column. "The scales of justice." He quickly earned a reputation as a sharp and prolific writer.

Edelshtein gets clean bill of health

Post Science and Health Reporter
Former Prisoner of Zion Yuli Edelshtein, who came to Israel a few weeks ago, underwent a half-day of tests at Hadassah-University Hospital in Jerusalem's Ein Kerem yesterday.

Edelshtein was found in generally good condition, despite a serious accident in a Siberian labour camp last year, in which he ruptured his urethra.

He was treated at the diagnostic clinic at no cost. Hadassah doctors had been active on his behalf during his imprisonment, and petitioned the Soviet medical and government authorities for information on his condition.

Views and News at the Hotel Inter-Continental with The Jerusalem Post

The Hotel Inter-Continental Jerusalem distributes complimentary copies of The Jerusalem Post to guests every day.



HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Proposed Rabbinical Courts Law may not be tabled

Likud fears embarrassing vote on Shas bill

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Post Political Reporter

Likud leaders are concerned that the presentation this week to the Knesset of the Rabbinical Courts Law will cause the party a severe loss of face because even more Likud MKs will choose to flout party discipline and will refrain from supporting the law.

Likud ministers Moshe Nissim and Ariel Sharon - bolstered by MKs Ehud Olmert, Yehoshua Matza and Haim Kaufman - will meet with Shas leaders this morning in a last-ditch effort to persuade them not to table the motion.

Shas leaders, who met with the Likud team before yesterday's cabinet meeting, appeared

undaunted by projections of an assured Knesset defeat for the bill and said that they are determined to press ahead with it.

Shas sources said that in any case, they will submit the bill this morning to the Knesset presidium for a Wednesday hearing, but might withdraw it before Wednesday if they become convinced that it stands no chance of passing.

The proposed amendment to the Rabbinical Courts Adjudication Law, a "Who is a Jew" bill in a different guise, would give the religious tribunals exclusive jurisdiction in the approval of conversions carried out abroad.

Shas has made clear to the Likud that it is no longer considering joining Labour's drive for

early elections. But this has raised concern in the Likud that without the "elections whip," more Likud MKs will choose to be absent from the vote than occurred two weeks ago, in the 60-56 defeat of the Shas-sponsored Change of Religious Communities Ordinance.

Shas leader Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz met with Religious Affairs Minister Zevulun Hammer to sound out the NRP's position on the Rabbinical Law. The NRP decided two weeks ago to try and prevent the submission of further "Who is a Jew" bills as long as a Knesset majority for them is not assured.

NRP sources said yesterday, however, that if Shas insists on presenting the bill, all five NRP MKs will have no choice but to support it.

All 59 MKs of the Labour Party and the left are expected to participate in the Wednesday vote, if held, and to oppose it. Likud MK Sara Doron and Tehiya's Rafael Eitan are also expected to oppose, while Likud MK Eliahu Ben-Elissar and Ometz Minister Yigal Hurvitz are expected to abstain or not attend.

Matza, who is the Likud whip, failed in an attempt to punish Doron for voting against the Change of Religious Communities bill two weeks ago. Thus more Likud MKs - freed of the prospect of a Shas change of heart on elections, as well as of any internal retribution - are expected to desert party ranks. But even if not, the best Shas can hope for at the present time is a 61-57 defeat of their bill.

Corfu defends Shabbat visits of cruise ships

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Passenger liners can call at Haifa port on the Sabbath, as they have done since before Israel became independent, Transport Minister Haim Corfu said at the weekly cabinet meeting yesterday.

Replying to a question from National Religious Party Minister Yosef Shapira, Corfu said that when the agents of two cruise liners asked this month that Ashdod port be opened for them, the request was turned down by the port management, with the approval of the ministry. Ashdod port is always closed on the Sabbath.

However, Corfu said the status quo on religious observance in Haifa, where various transport services have always operated, differed from other cities.

Pickering warns against the Lavi

Jerusalem Post Reporter

"The U.S. believes that the Lavi's expense could cause Israel to skew its defence needs to a point where its requirements on the ground simply might not be adequate," U.S. ambassador Thomas Pickering said last night.

Addressing the opening session of the Rabbinical Council of America at the Ramada Renaissance in Jerusalem, Pickering said that "all of Israel is now aware of the full dangers as well as the potential of this project as a result of our bringing the facts and figures to the government of Israel."

Pickering also expressed hope that Israel would join the European Community in calling for economic sanctions against South Africa.

Kiryat Shmona paper criticized for ugly comment on kibbutzim

By DAVID RUDGE

Jerusalem Post Reporter
KIRYAT SHMONA. - Civic leaders yesterday denounced a controversial article in a local newspaper here comparing neighbourhood kibbutz members to terrorists.

They condemned as "grotesque" the content of the article, under the headline "The final solution of the kibbutzim for Kiryat Shmona."

Mayor Prosper Azran told *The Jerusalem Post* that he was deeply shocked by the use of Holocaust expressions.

He said the writer of the story, published in *Mabat Lekirya*, one of the town's two local papers, had done a great disservice to the residents and threatened the harmonious relations between them and the kibbutzim in the region.

The northern district police decided that the article did not constitute an incitement to rebellion or break the law in any other sense, but a spokesman said that police would investigate if a complaint was lodged.

The writer maintained that the kibbutzim intended to destroy the economic base of Kiryat Shmona and ruin the livelihoods of 1,500 residents by building two shopping malls with swimming pools and a cinema in the area, thereby diverting trade and tourism from the town. "What the terrorists failed to achieve in the past the kibbutzim would succeed in doing," the article said.

Mayor Azran stressed, however, that there were no such plans.

POISON. - A 16-year-old Gaza woman was brought to Shifa Hospital in critical condition on Saturday after swallowing rat poison. Police learned that she drank the poison after a family dispute. (Itim)

MK Ziad: Work camps in Arab towns 'a crying shame'

By DAVID RUDGE

Jerusalem Post Reporter
NAZARETH. - Volunteer work camps which help Arab towns would be unnecessary if the government gave Arab councils the same budgets as similar-sized Jewish local authorities, Nazareth Mayor and Rakah MK Toufik Ziad declared yesterday.

Ziad spoke at the culmination of the 12th annual camp here, which was attended by 7,500 people - half of them from the territories.

The four-day event, sponsored by the communist-led municipality, passed without any disturbances, unlike previous years.

Ziad said the work of the volunteers on dozens of local projects had saved the municipality over \$600,000.

"It is a crying shame that the government's discriminatory policies towards Arab councils make camps such as this necessary in order to bridge the gap caused by inadequate budgets," Ziad told *The Jerusalem Post*.

He maintained that the municipality's regular budget was only a quarter of that allocated to Jewish towns of a similar size, while the development budget was even less. The same applied to other Israeli Arab local councils, he said.

The volunteers - including a Soviet delegation participating for the first time, and scores of helpers from 16 other countries - worked on 65 projects. These ranged from road construction work, laying and repairing sewage and water pipes to renovating schools and religious buildings.

The cost of housing and feeding the volunteers was covered by private contributions and donations from Nazareth residents and local farmers.

Several discussion groups were organized, including a meeting between residents of the territories and Jewish volunteers.

Organizers said it had been the most successful camp to date, and they planned to make next year's even bigger and better.



Sara Angel (right) left Neve Tirza prison yesterday after serving two years for drug-related offences. A Parole board had reduced her 36-month sentence by a third for good behaviour. Angel made headlines in 1986 when she was acquitted for the murder of Shulamit Sheli and Michel Nahmias, members of a drug ring run by Sara and her ex-husband, Shmaya Angel, who is serving a life sentence for murder.

(Israel Simanovsky/ippa)

Einav gets three months

TEL AVIV (Itim). - West Bank land dealer Shmuel Einav was sentenced to three months in jail yesterday and fined NIS 3,000 for paying a bribe to Avi Tsur, a former aide to Likud Deputy Minister Michael Dekel.

He was convicted of indirectly passing a bribe to Tsur through another land dealer, Yitzhak Yanai. He was acquitted of directly bribing Tsur and of organizing all West Bank land deals to make donations to the Likud Party.

Tel Aviv District Court Judge Eliahu Matza sentenced Einav to three months in jail, with the possi-

bility of serving them by doing public service work, and to another three months on probation.

Defence attorney Dan Sheinman claimed the money passed to Tsur was a political donation, but Matza accepted the prosecution's claim that it was a bribe. The payment showed all the signs of a classic bribe, the judge said, and any attempt to "purify" the act by classifying it as a political donation "did not lessen the severity of the act."

Matza said his sentence took into consideration Einav's contribution in the struggle to create Israel and his subsequent service to the state.

'Governments responsible for terror'

By GREER FAY CASHMAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Governments - not frustrated, isolated individuals, are behind international terrorism, Israel's Ambassador to the UN, Binjamin Netanyahu, said in Jerusalem last night.

Addressing delegates to the International Forum for Freedom, Netanyahu argued that terrorists could not sustain their attacks across borders without being bank-rolled

by governments.

The PLO, he declared, is the richest terrorist organization in the world, receiving \$100 million per year from Saudi Arabia. Democratic states have been slow in fighting international terrorism he contended, because they could not define it. "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. If you can't define it, you can't fight it. It's like a disease. If you can't diagnose it, you can't treat it."

Tanjug's man in Cairo comes to Jerusalem

Belgrade sends a message in opening news bureau here

TEL AVIV (Itim). - The establishment of a Yugoslav government news agency office in Israel signals improved Yugoslavia-Israel ties, Miroslav Visnjic, the Tanjug agency's local representatives, told reporters yesterday.

"The fact that an official news agency opens its bureau in Israel speaks for itself," Visnjic said yesterday. "After this, similar step-by-step moves most probably will follow."

Tanjug has already been sending regular news dispatches to Belgrade and is seeking office space in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, he said.

Visnjic, formerly the Tanjug bureau chief in Cairo, is living in a Jerusalem hotel while searching for permanent living quarters there. He said he preferred Jerusalem because he suffered from asthma.

Tanjug issued an official statement on Saturday announcing its intent to open an office in Tel Aviv. Visnjic said he has been in regular touch with the Foreign Ministry and with the Government Press Office in Jerusalem and files daily stories to Belgrade.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Ehud Gohi said that Israel welcomes the development. He added that though Visnjic had called on him several times, the Yugoslav had yet to notify him officially of his intent to open an office here.

Yugoslavia severed diplomatic relations with Israel during the Six Day War. This new development is one of several indications that it intends to renew ties, a move that Belgrade has denied.

Meanwhile, Romanian television last night led its news broadcast with coverage of a meeting held between Romanian President Nicolai Ceausescu and visiting Mapam MKs Elazar Granot and Yair Tsaaban. Ceausescu stressed the importance of an international peace conference that includes the PLO. He said that had Shimon Peres pressed for such a conference from the start of his premiership, he would have succeeded in achieving a breakthrough.

TORCHED CAR. - A brand new 1987 Subaru stolen from Petah Tikva was found completely burned in Gaza on Saturday night.



The son of Prisoner of Zion Joseph Zisels demonstrating in the capital yesterday at the solidarity rally sponsored by the Soviet Jewry Education and Information Centre. (Sergio Cigliotti)

High Court criticizes legal situation

Confined against her will

By JUDY SIEGEL

Post Science and Health Reporter
The Health Ministry is dissatisfied with the law regulating involuntary confinement in mental hospitals.

This was the extent of the ministry comment on the Supreme Court ruling issued last Friday that the whole question of confinement against one's will should be investigated thoroughly.

The law was passed nearly 25 years ago and has been amended several times since then. The judges noted that seven years ago, the court criticized the situation, but that "nothing has been done since then."

The court was dealing with the case of a Tel Aviv woman who was confined against her will in the Gaba Mental Hospital for 19 days after she was brought there under what she claimed were false pretense by her husband.

The husband asked the Tel Aviv district psychiatrist to confine her, and he complied. According to the law, five days after being confined involuntarily, one must get written approval from the district psychiatrist for continued confinement. In this case, no approval was given after five days. The woman claimed the law had been violated, but the Tel Aviv District Court rejected her plea.

The Supreme Court noted that the woman was jealous of her husband and suspected that he had a number of secret lovers. She followed him and threatened to murder him; she even attempted suicide.

In a minority opinion, Justice Shoshana Netanyahu said that one must not deprive someone of freedom without the proper authority, and that the woman should be compensated. The two other justices, Dov Levin and Gabriel Bach, said that there was no formal approval for her continued confinement, but added it was only due to an "administrative foul-up" and that she should have been confined. They rejected compensation but agreed with Netanyahu that the legal situation is intolerable.

The Health Ministry spokesman said that the ministry proposed a change in the law a year ago, and that it was "now in the hands of the legal authorities."

Judge won't pull out

ACRE (Itim). - A Druse magistrates' court judge yesterday denied rumours that he would disqualify himself from ruling in cases of Druse Beit Jann residents suspected of assaulting police during riots at the Mt. Meron Nature Reserve.

"I have not disqualified myself and I wouldn't disqualify myself unless I was convinced that others suspected that justice would not be done by my ruling in these cases," he said yesterday.

On the thirtieth day after the passing of

SHMUEL TAMIR

(Katznelson)

there will be a memorial service and unveiling of the tombstone at the Sanhedria Cemetery, Jerusalem, on Thursday, July 30, 1987 (4 Av 5747) at 5 p.m.

The Family

A bus for those attending will leave from the El-Al terminus at the Northern Railway Station, Tel Aviv, at 3:30 p.m.

French alert 4 warships for Gulf

U.S. battleship Missouri sails 'for Indian ocean'

LOS ANGELES. — The navy battleship Missouri has left port, reportedly for duty with ships protecting reflagged Kuwaiti oil tankers in the Gulf, and France yesterday announced it has put four warships, including an aircraft carrier, to be put in state of readiness to sail for the Gulf at 24 hours' notice.

The French Defence Ministry said the alert was caused by increased tension in the area. But this does not necessarily mean the ships will sail, a spokesman added.

The Missouri, where the Japanese surrendered at the end of World War II, left its home port on Saturday for "operations in the Pacific and Indian oceans," said Cmdr. John Alexander, a navy spokesman at the Pentagon.

The mammoth ship, is headed for the Gulf, the *Los Angeles Times* reported yesterday, quoting unidentified Pentagon officials. NBC television reported the same destination Saturday evening.

"The navy has not confirmed, nor can I say, that she's going to the Persian Gulf," Alexander said. "I can say she was scheduled to depart for the Pacific prior to the recent

accident with the escort," he said, referring to the tanker Bridgeton's hitting suspected Iranian mine last week in the Gulf.

Alexander said he did not know how long the cruise would last for the 45,000-ton Missouri's complement of 1,537 officers and men, but a routine tour of duty in the Indian Ocean is about five months.

American explosive experts are to survey a channel in the northern Gulf, where the Bridgeton hit a mine while under U.S. naval escort.

The U.S. Commander in the Gulf, Rear-Admiral Harold Bernsen, told reporters in Kuwait yesterday mine-clearing in the area "has to be right at the top of the list... 'We're going to do some minesweeping, I'm sure'."

Divers who inspected the 401,382-ton tanker, anchored off Kuwait, reported that the damage it sustained in the blast was more serious than originally estimated. They were trying to determine if the vessel, one of the world's largest tankers, could be repaired locally or at least partly filled with crude oil.

Initial reports had said that only one of the Bridgeton's compart-

ments was flooded by the mine that hit some 3 metres below the water line.

But divers reported damage to four tanks, including a bunker tank. A maritime expert in Dubai said the damage should be repaired before the vessel sails again.

A Kuwait-based marine surveyor, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said it normally took "three days to a week" to patch holes caused by moored mines such as the one that holed the Bridgeton.

The second convoy of U.S. warship-escorted, reflagged Kuwaiti vessels was to begin moving toward Kuwait on August 6. But Rear-Adm. Bernsen yesterday said: "We're going to have to review the whole programme... We just don't have a great deal of (anti-mine) capability."

Pentagon sources said the U.S. government was discussing Kuwaiti and Saudi Arabian assistance in sweeping mines, and diplomats in the Gulf suggested the Washington would use helicopters trailing sonar sleds on the sea surface to locate mines ahead of future convoys. (AP, Reuters, AFP)

Crimean Tatars put case to Gromyko

MOSCOW (Reuters). — Crimean Tatars who staged an unprecedented 24-hour demonstration at the gates of the Kremlin this weekend will have a meeting with President Andrei Gromyko today, one of their leaders said yesterday.

Reshat Dzhenilyov, a Tatar activist for three decades, said the demonstrators dispersed yesterday afternoon after accepting a Kremlin offer of a meeting with Gromyko, relayed by Interior Minister Alexander Vlasov.

Dzhenilyov, who has served several jail terms for agitating in the Tatar cause, said some protesters heard Vlasov talking to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev over his car telephone.

The demonstrators, who are demanding the right to re-establish a national homeland in the Crimea from where they were deported by Josef Stalin in 1944, had earlier asked to be received by Gorbachev.

"But we decided we should see Gromyko. He is after all the head of state and may have important things to say to us," Dzhenilyov, a 56-year-old construction engineer, told Reuters by telephone.

Gromyko was named last Thursday as head of a government commission, set up after an appeal from four prominent writers including poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, to review the case of the Tatars whom Stalin accused of collaborating with the Nazis.

"We place a great deal of hope on Gorbachev," said Dzhenilyov. "We will be very happy if we get a good response to our demands from Gromyko."

Many of the demonstrators, who first gathered on the cobbles behind the 15th century St. Basil's Cathedral on the edge of Red Square Saturday afternoon, carried portraits of Gorbachev and Soviet state founder Vladimir Lenin.

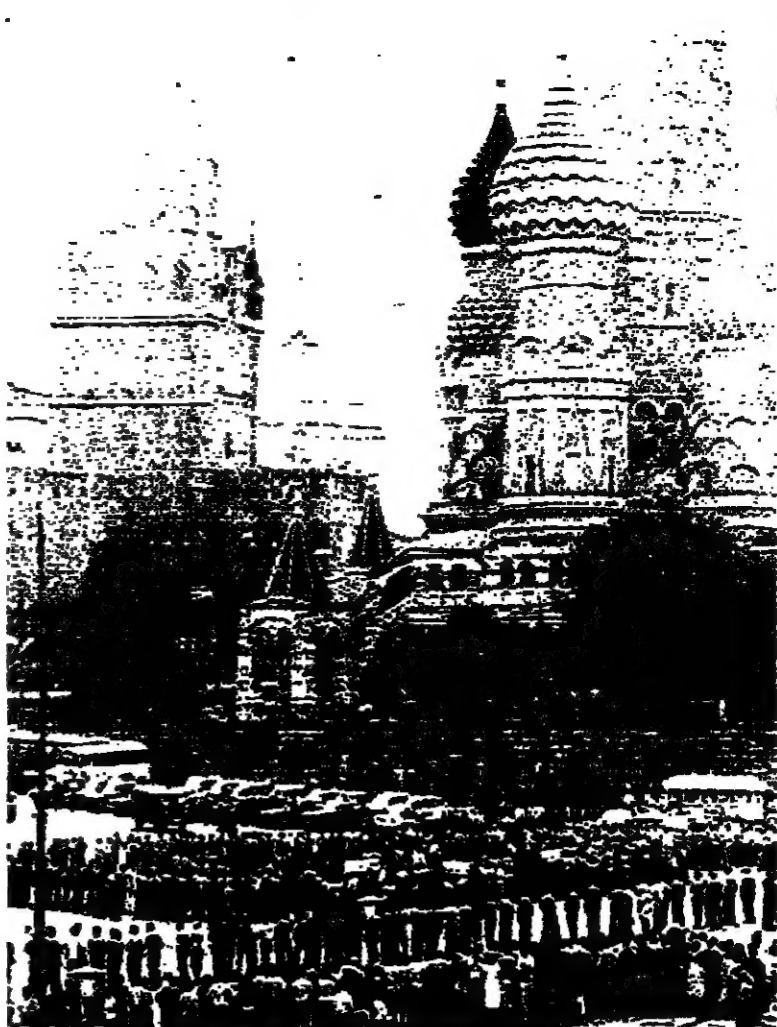
Dzhenilyov said that, apart from a scuffle Saturday night when police prevented the Tatars moving onto Red Square itself the authorities had treated the protesters respect and "made no attempt to intimidate us."

The relaxed official handling of the Tatars contrasted with police behaviour towards other demonstrators in Moscow over the past 25 years.

Under the late Kremlin leader Leonid Brezhnev, dissenting protests, particularly in and around the revered Red Square, were always promptly and often brutally suppressed and their participants jailed for long terms.

But Gorbachev, whose closest aides increasingly declare that the Kremlin does not claim to have a monopoly on the truth, has introduced a more liberal policy towards dissent. He has freed some 150 people jailed for political offences.

The Kremlin chief himself has called on officials to listen to people who come to them with problems rather than dismissing them out of hand as, he has said, was generally the practice in the past.



The scene behind the Kremlin where Crimean Tatars demonstrated over the weekend. (Reuters telephoto)

Beirut Swiss threatened

BEIRUT (Reuters). — Swiss Red Cross workers said yesterday they had no intention of leaving Lebanon but were told not to make any unnecessary journeys after a threat against Swiss interests.

The Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has 28 Swiss nationals working in Lebanon, 12 of them in Moslem West Beirut.

"We are helping thousands of civilians. It will be against our duty if we

leave even for a short time," said Dominique Gross, the Swiss head of the ICRC delegation.

"We have asked our delegates not to travel anywhere in the country if it is not really needed," Gross added.

The previously unknown "Green Cells" group threatened in Beirut on Saturday to hit at Swiss interests if Switzerland handed over to France the hijacker of an Air Afrique jet who killed a French passenger at Geneva airport.

Anti-Semitic games swamp W. German computer market

By DAVID HOROVITZ

LONDON. — Hundreds of thousands of anti-Semitic computer games — giving home computer enthusiasts the chance to fight World War II over and this time win with Hitler — are swamping the West German computer games market, causing particular concern for juvenile care authorities.

West German authorities, quoted in a *Sunday Times* report, suspect that neo-Nazi groups are designing the programmes, all of which extol the virtues of Hitler and involve the player in such tasks as using SS troops to capture Jews and send them to the gas chambers.

Some 40 such games — aimed at the 10-40 age group of home computer addicts — have been banned by West German authorities in the last three years, but the private distribution networks are largely beyond their control, and sales are flourishing.

In one of the games, the player is first greeted by a picture of Hitler on the screen. "I am proud to be a German," he says, to the background strains of the Nazi "Horst Wessel" march.

This game requires the player to conquer Europe as quickly as possible, while maintaining domestic security by throwing political opponents and Jews into concentration camps.

Afghan rebels split over king's return

ISLAMABAD (Reuters). — A bout of public squabbling has underlined bitter divisions among Afghan rebel leaders on whether ousted King Zahir Shah can help end the devastating guerrilla war in their country.

This weekend one leader, Sibghatullah Mojaddidi warned that the issue could cause a split among the seven party chiefs in the Western-backed Rebel Alliance based in Pakistan.

Another, Islamic radical Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, said he would fight on against any coalition government headed by the king if it was sponsored by Moscow.

The dispute resurfaced after the rebels rejected out of hand the latest compromise proposal from the Soviet-backed Kabul government.

Ruling Communist Party leader Najib offered last month to give 13 ministries and the post of vice-president to his opponents, while retaining the presidency and security-related posts.

The proposal was aimed largely at the three parties on the "nationalist" wing of the alliance, headed by Mojaddidi, Syed Ahmad Gailani and

Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi.

All three dismissed the offer as a propaganda ploy and reiterated their unrelenting demand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, estimated by the West to number 115,000 as the only way to end the nine-year-old conflict.

Since the beginning of the year, Kabul has issued a steady stream of proposals for peace talks, a ceasefire and a coalition government. The rebels have unanimously dismissed everyone as divisive propaganda not to be trusted.

Even a suggestion by Najib, in answer to a question at a Moscow news conference, that he would step down himself if it would help a peace settlement, failed to impress the rebels.

"It means the Russians have maybe got fed up with him, they want to get rid of him, a Mojaddidi, head of the Jabha-i-Nijat-i-Milli party, told Reuters.

The only issue where any common ground is visible seems to be Zahir Shah, the 73-year-old king, ousted in 1973 after 40 years as ruler of Afghanistan.

FOREIGN BRIEFS

Arafat postpones visit to India

Post Middle East Staff and Agencies

NEW DELHI. — Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, will pay a two-day visit to India beginning next Monday, officials said yesterday.

Arafat was originally due to arrive today. The visit would have coincided with Israel's participation in the Davis Cup encounter with India here, but the Indian government said on Saturday that he had postponed the visit. Arafat will go instead to the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa, to attend a meeting of the Organization of African Unity.

Teacher-rapist executed

BEIJING (AFP). — A Chinese primary school teacher has been executed for raping 16 of his pupils after being influenced by pornographic novels, the *China Youth Daily* reported yesterday.

Pan Yunqian, a former "model teacher" at a school in Xingchang in the coastal province of Zhejiang, admitted to repeatedly raping 16 of his female students, including one 13-year-old more than seven times. He lured 16 girls to his home, where he committed 25 acts of rape over the last two years.

Life imprisonment for neo-Fascist attack

VENICE (AFP). — A Venice court on Saturday sentenced two men to life in jail and handed out nearly 100 years in terms against 17 others, all found guilty of involvement in a 1972 neo-Fascist attack in which three policemen were killed.

Vincenzo Vinciguerra, the only defendant present at the trial, admitted being responsible for the attack and got a life sentence for the triple killing. Carlo Ciuranti, who has been on the run for several years, was sentenced to life imprisonment in absentia.

Monkey madness at Moscow airport

MOSCOW (Reuters). — Moscow's main international airport was severely disrupted when a cargo of monkeys escaped and started using the airport lifts, Moscow Radio reported.

The radio said a "critical situation" developed after monkeys escaped from their cages, set free all the others, and began riding in cargo lifts.

The monkeys, from an East Berlin zoo, set the lifts in motion by accidentally pushing a button. They were later pacified with tranquillizer shots.

Ban on Communist Party reinstated

Aquino authorizes citizens' army

MANILA (AP). — President Corason Aquino renewed a ban on the Communist Party and authorized a "citizens' army" in presidential decrees issued yesterday, the final day of her sole law-making powers.

Aquino has ruled by decree for most of her 17 months in office but will share power with Congress after it convenes today.

Convening of the Congress follows adoption of a new constitution in a plebiscite called by Aquino.

Since taking power, Aquino has signed 302 executive orders. Last Wednesday, she signed a controversial land reform programme, calling for the distribution of all agricultural land to peasants. The decree left it to Congress to decide how much land the landowners can keep.

One of yesterday's decrees said the Communist Party and its military

arm, the New People's Army, aim to overthrow the Philippine government and should therefore be declared "illegal and outlawed."

Deposed President Ferdinand Marcos had banned the party, which was organized while he was president in 1969, and sentenced alleged subversives to death. But Aquino has abolished capital punishment.

Aquino's government forged the first ceasefire agreement with the Communist rebels, but it ended on February 8 after peace talks broke down. The military says there are more than 20,000 rebels spread out in at least three-fourths of the country's 74 provinces.

The new Citizen Armed Force, to be made up of military officers on reserve and inactive enlisted men, would help the 250,000-member military fight Communist rebels.

The plan for a citizens' army was proposed by defence officials following a controversy over armed vigilante groups. The decree said the department of national defence shall train the new force to "enable it to respond to all types of threat to national security."

Aquino has said she also would approve an order extending the August 28 deadline for an amnesty programme she has offered Communist and Moslem rebels.

The military claims that 1,622 rebels have surrendered. But a government official says only 261 "hard-core" guerrillas have taken advantage of the cash-for-guns offer.

In Lano Del Norte, the military said yesterday nearly 900 rebels and supporters have pledged their allegiance to the government, but only three have sought amnesty.

Sudan emergency in bid to reform economy

KHARTOUM. — Sudan's government, on the eve of talks with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), has declared a year-long state of emergency in a last-ditch effort to salvage a crumbling economy and curb social unrest. But diplomats said the move is unlikely to produce significant results.

A statement by the Head of State and President of the Supreme Council said the emergency was imposed to end market chaos, illegal hoarding of essential foodstuffs, black market dealings and smuggling.

The President, Ahmed Ali al-Mirghani, said it was also designed to combat armed robberies, wide-

spread in Sudan's southern and western provinces, illegal possession of arms and the disruption of public services.

But diplomats said they were puzzled by last night's announcement because a state of emergency — imposed when former President Ja'afar Numeiri was ousted in a military coup in April 1985 — had never been lifted.

"The declaration might be just a renewal of the state of emergency or perhaps an attempt to show that the democratic government can also be as tough as the army generals who ousted Numeiri," one diplomat said.

The announcement followed a wave of strikes by public service workers in Khartoum, a general strike in Bahr al-Ghazal province in the south and demonstrations elsewhere against the government's failure to improve living conditions.

The authorities closed schools in Khartoum indefinitely on Thursday, after week-long riots by schoolchildren protesting a shortage of teachers and books.

In the south, rebels of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) have been fighting a guerrilla war against government troops since 1983, demanding a separate secular state. (Reuters, AFP)

Over 230 reported dead in Haiti land dispute

PORT-AU-PRINCE (Reuters). — Two days of machete battles in a remote town that killed at least 50 people and may have left more than 230 dead appeared yesterday to have ended as doctors arrived to treat scores of wounded, witnesses said.

Doctors returning from Jean-Rabel, about 220 km northwest of Port-au-Prince, told Reuters they had counted as many as 50 dead and believed other bodies would be found.

The Haitian Information Ministry said on Saturday at least 30 people were killed and hundreds hurt in violence triggered by a long-simmering land dispute.

Other unconfirmed reports put the death toll much higher. A missionary said more than 200 people had been killed, but there was no independent confirmation.

Accounts of the clash differed widely. Some sources said it pitted peasants against

landowners, while others suggested religious rivalries might have fanned the land dispute.

A protestant minister who returned to the capital Saturday from Jean-Rabel told Protestant radio Lumiere at least 235 people died in the fighting.

The minister, who asked not to be identified, later told Reuters "hundreds" were injured. He said hundreds of bodies were lying in the town's streets.

"The situation in Jean-Rabel is horrible," he said, adding that when he left the town on Friday night the killing was still going on.

Three radio stations initially reported the violence began when members of the disbanded Tontons Macoutes private militia ambushed a group of people demonstrating against them.

An Information Ministry spokesman said the clash appeared to be between peasants backed by

Protestant missionaries and landowners supported by former members of the Tontons Macoutes, the disbanded militia of ousted dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier.

Roman Catholic Radio Soleil said the dispute had been brewing since Duvalier was deposed in February, 1986 and fled the country after decades of rule by him and his father, Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier.

A Western diplomatic source said on Friday night that violence had been increasing around Jean-Rabel, where peasants were trying to reclaim land they said had been fraudulently obtained by Tontons Macoutes through forced sales.

The fighting in Jean-Rabel was the most violent incident in a series of anti-government protests to hit Haiti in the past month.

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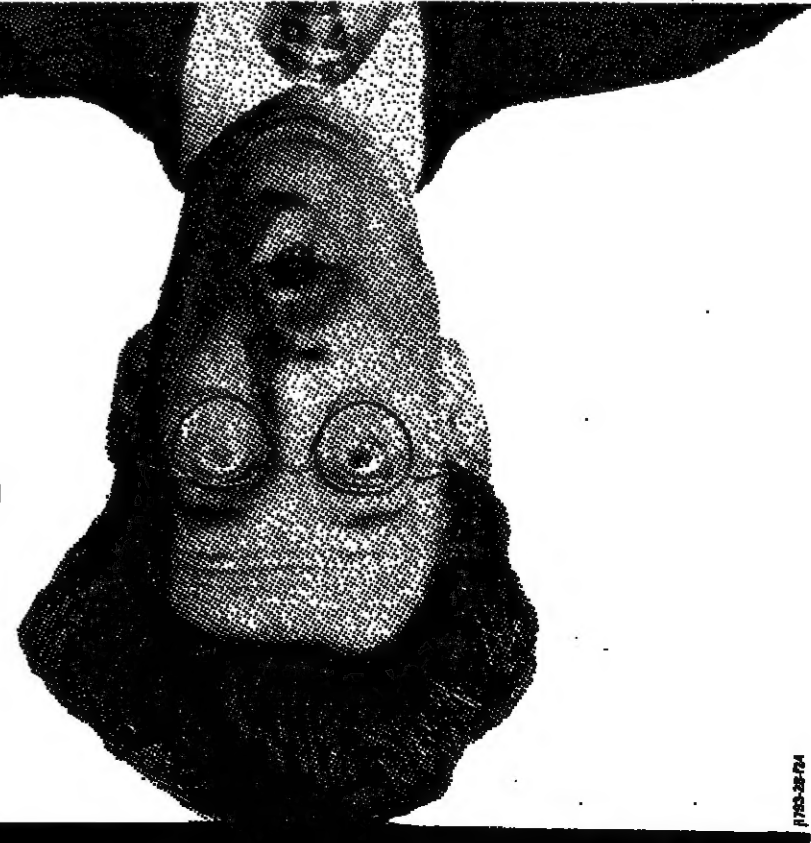
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Waldheim jeered at Salzburg Festival

VIENNA (AFP). — Austrian President Kurt Waldheim, accused by Jewish groups of being a Nazi war criminal, was jeered by some 50 demonstrators on Saturday as he arrived in time for yesterday's opening of the Salzburg Festival.

Protesters let two pigs loose in a central square as the governor of Salzburg Province, Wilfried Haslauer, greeted Waldheim. Police immediately cordoned off the square and captured the running hogs.

In the celebrated Mozart Square, also on the president's itinerary, demonstrators placed a wooden horse, created by Austrian sculptor Alfred Hrdlicka, to point to Waldheim's alleged membership of an equestrian club linked to Hitler's *Sturm Abteil* (SA), or brownshirts.

At other spots in the city centre, leaflets demanding Waldheim's resignation were handed out to some 20,000 passersby attending various events — Renaissance costume parades, fireworks, and dance and marionette performances — kicking off the festival.

Meanwhile, Austrian composer Friedrich Cerha protested against Waldheim's scheduled inauguration of an art exhibit today, denouncing "a man whose mentality happens to be in flagrant contradiction with the spirit of this culture and its tradition."

Last Wednesday, the West German writer Peter Handke had also called on Waldheim to give up inaugurating the exhibit.

The former UN secretary-general who was elected president of Austria last year is accused by Jewish groups, chiefly the World Jewish Congress, of having taken part in war crimes in Nazi-occupied Yugoslavia and Greece during World War II. He vigorously denies the accusation.

Rally for Ethiopian Jews left behind

By ANDY COURT
Leaders of the Ethiopian Jewish community here will call for a commission of inquiry today to determine who leaked the story of Operation Moses to the press before all the refugees had been airlifted out of the Sudan, an Ethiopian Jewish leader said yesterday.

The request will be made at a major rally for the reunification of Ethiopian Jewish families to be held at 6 p.m. today in Jerusalem's Binyanei Ha'uma, according to Assaf Ferda, chairman of the Association of Ethiopian Immigrants.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres, Speaker Shlomo Hilel, Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek, former Prisoner of Zion Natan Sharansky, and human rights lawyer Irwin Cotler — will address the crowd.

Ethiopian leaders plan to use the occasion to urge the government to make more of an effort to reunite Ethiopian families, some of whose members were left behind when Operation Moses was abruptly ended in 1985.

Some 15,000 Jews remain in Ethiopia today, Ferda said, and over 1,000 Ethiopian children in Israel have parents who did not make it out of the country.

The premature publicity given to

Israel's airlift of Ethiopian Jewry, code-named "Operation Moses," is the root cause of the problem, Ferda said. As a result of the stories that appeared in the press, Sudan stopped the flow of Ethiopian Jews across its border with Ethiopia.

Though the damage caused by the leak has already been done, a commission of inquiry is still needed, Ferda said. "At least the public will know that there are people like that, who cause death to the Jewish people," Ferda said. "Much of the public doesn't realize that (at the time of the leak) Ethiopian Jews were in enemy territory. Sudan is one of Israel's enemies."

As a prelude to tonight's assembly, 300 Ethiopian Jews demonstrated in front of the Prime Minister's Office yesterday.

They demanded that the government make a direct request to the Ethiopian government for family unification on humanitarian grounds. If that doesn't work, Israel should work through the embassies of countries such as Canada, Switzerland, Italy and France, who maintain diplomatic relations with Ethiopia, Ferda said.

Before the Ethiopian Jews demonstrated yesterday, about 50



Ethiopian Jews demonstrate outside the government offices in Jerusalem yesterday, calling for the rescue of their remaining family members in Ethiopia. (Dan Coleman)

Soviet Jewry activists marched to the Foreign Ministry to the Prime Minister's Office, some of them tied together with a rope, resembling prisoners in chains.

With slogans such as "Enough fawning over the Soviets — Where is

Reciprocity?" the activist continued to protest the diplomatic courtesies that Israel has extended to the visiting Soviet delegation, while receiving no major concessions on Soviet Jews who wish to emigrate to Israel. Yesterday's demonstrators included

the son of Prisoner of Zion Yosef Zissel, the father of Prisoner of Zion Alexei Magarik, and the uncle of Sergei Dyachkov Brenner, who is now on a hunger strike because he has been refused permission to emigrate to Israel.

Slaughter on roads brings call for tougher seat belt law

Four people, including three children, were killed in the last 24 hours, bringing the death toll over the past month to more than 40.

All of the accidents occurred on Saturday night. A 10-year-old boy was killed when he was struck by a bus while he was riding his bicycle near Netanya.

Two other children died in accidents near Gaza. A baby was run over by a truck and a five-year-old girl was killed after being struck by a jeep.

The fourth fatality was a 26-year-

old driver killed when his car smashed into an electricity pylon near Kiryat Gat.

Likud Uriel Lynn, chairman of the Knesset Road Safety Committee, yesterday accused Corfu of being personally opposed to the use of safety belts in towns despite evidence that such a measure could save dozens of lives and prevent thousands of injuries.

But a Transport Ministry spokesman said yesterday that the "aggravation" and "discomfort" of having to wear the safety devices could actually make drivers "worse

than they are now."

Lynn accused Corfu of personally opposing a private members bill he had proposed which would make the wearing of seat belts compulsory both in and out of towns. Presently they are only mandatory during inter-city travel.

"Actually the minister has the power right now to make seat belts compulsory without the Knesset passing a law. I'm challenging him to do that," said Lynn.

His committee, he went on, had evidence that such a measure could reduce the number of people injured

would agree to it. But so far there had been no offers.

"In most other countries the average trip inside town is 13 to 15 kilometres. But here it is three to four kilometres. In such short journeys people will cheat, or simply defy the law."

"We know seat belts can save lives but it is not enough just to shoot from the hip. We have to find out whether such a law would work, or if people would just ignore it or become more nervous and irritated than they are now."

Tomorrow Corfu is to meet with his ministerial committee on accident prevention, which last week was given 30 days by the cabinet to come up with an overall plan to end the carnage on the roads.

They will discuss a \$450 million five-year plan to improve the roads.

Russians are coming

quarters in New York and title to several churches and monasteries here. But this Galilee garden is definitely red.)

Now, one of the official purposes of the Russian consular delegation was to check on Russian ("red") church property. This would naturally include a visit to Tiberias (where another piece of church property, now the Castle Inn Hostel, is at the southern end of town next to the Greek Orthodox church). And this naturally led to a radio report which light-heartedly concluded that Mayor Bibi must be laying in a stock of vodka.

We had delicious fresh orange juice when I visited the mayor to learn about the Russian connection. Yes, he said, there had been a meeting about the Russian garden the day before.

Meanwhile, the first group disappeared. There had been a problem about sewage (as usual), but the main stumbling-block had been the provision of the 1965 Planning and Building Law which requires a permit of land in such a transition to revert to the local authority for such purposes as landscaping and gardening. In other words, a valuable safeguard against over-development.

"This new group presented plans for a 'holiday village' to accommodate 500, including a large hotel and scattered bungalows," Yanai told me. (At present, and for decades, the garden encloses just the Russian monastery of St. Mary Magdalene and a little chapel, complete with icons and candles. It is maintained by one or two Russian nuns, and

and he, too, spoke very good Hebrew.)

As a matter of fact, much of the northeast lakeshore belongs to Christianity — its sects so fragmented as to make Judaism look positively monolithic. What's more, many of these sect-sites have turned to tourism, a pleasant economic alternative to fundamentalism. Final economic arrangements, for instance, are now being made on the return of Tabgha to the German Catholic Church for its new hostel, payment to be used to build yet another hostel further north from the Russian Garden.)

So now, given the inscrutable character of all negotiators and of Russian ones in particular, what do we know about what may, or may not, happen? Why do the Russians — the church and its bosses — want to see Israelis putting up a holiday village (open to all, of course) in their sleepy, inaccessible garden which is thought by the Orthodox Church to be a holy site — Dalmantha (Mark 8:10), the home of Mary Magdalene?

Is it as simple as it appears; just a matter of "Tak chto, tovarich, here's this property. Why not let it generate some money instead of having it just sit there?"

Have we, at last, a market-oriented move from the Patriarchate of Moscow? Holy-site privatization, at least on temporary lease? Res-

serves as a kind of retreat for monks from the Ein Kerem Monastery in Jerusalem. Earlier this month, a visiting monk drowned in the lake, giving rise, naturally, to rumours in the local press.)

The 40 per cent requirement is again a major obstacle," Yanai explained. "The investors offered an equivalent financial compensation, but of course we would never accept this." An even larger obstacle, he added, is the fact that the adjacent properties are registered as agricultural land. Permission for large-scale construction would mean a lengthy bureaucratic hassle — for which we should all be grateful.

The Russians, he hardly needed to point out, would obviously never sell this marvellous property outright; any number of leasing arrangements are possible.

They were caught in a terrible storm. Many drowned and died from exhaustion; some of the survivors spent two days in Tiberias, "in the miserable Greek and Russian hostels... without even the most ordinary comforts." That Russian hostelry must have been today's Castle Inn youth hostel (with night club); the monastery in the garden was not yet built and the Glasnost Holiday Village still further in the future.

To show our Russian visitors that we are aware of how things once were, here are a few details, as recounted by a survivor. The 1893 tour guides, for instance, were the feldscher Ivanoff, a monk of the mission of Father Gennady, a nurse from Jerusalem, a Montenegrin policeman named Nikolai Bykovitch, a Negro named Dmitri, a retired Turkish gendarme named Jogar, and 38 saddled mules for those who could no longer walk.

If we don't know about future tours and consuls, here's a little something from the past. The first Russian consul in Jerusalem was appointed in 1858 (one of the results of the Crimean War, another story about holy sites.) That same year, the first Russian bishop was appointed and came to Jerusalem.

Who was he? A converted Jew by the name of Levinson.

HELGA DUDMAN

structuring of economic renewal, Lake of Galilee style? Will this be a Glasnost Holiday Village, for the multiplication of loaves, fishes, foreign currency, and bikinis? I doubt whether either Sasha really knows. And what will the monks and nuns make of it? Years ago.

Russian visitors — those flocked to the Holy Land — those devout and very poor pilgrims, who came by the thousands each Easter season, until World War I and the Revolution stopped that sort of thing.

One such pilgrimage turned into a calamity and became a legend. It was in the spring of 1893 (how time flies!) when a group of 764 pilgrims, mostly aged and weak from fasting, were walking, as always, from Jerusalem to Lake Galilee.

They were caught in a terrible storm. Many drowned and died from exhaustion; some of the survivors spent two days in Tiberias, "in the miserable Greek and Russian hostels... without even the most ordinary comforts." That Russian hostelry must have been today's Castle Inn youth hostel (with night club); the monastery in the garden was not yet built and the Glasnost Holiday Village still further in the future.

To show our Russian visitors that we are aware of how things once were, here are a few details, as recounted by a survivor. The 1893 tour guides, for instance, were the feldscher Ivanoff, a monk of the mission of Father Gennady, a nurse from Jerusalem, a Montenegrin policeman named Nikolai Bykovitch, a Negro named Dmitri, a retired Turkish gendarme named Jogar, and 38 saddled mules for those who could no longer walk.

If we don't know about future tours and consuls, here's a little something from the past. The first Russian consul in Jerusalem was appointed in 1858 (one of the results of the Crimean War, another story about holy sites.) That same year, the first Russian bishop was appointed and came to Jerusalem.

Who was he? A converted Jew by the name of Levinson.

HELGA DUDMAN

Too hot even for hand-outs

By GREER FAY CASHMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Noel Coward certainly knew what he was about when he wrote that only mad dogs and Englishmen go out in the noonday sun. In Jerusalem yesterday, there were indeed a few Englishmen out in the noonday sun, plus a smattering of other tourists, and a meagre representation of natives.

The few people plodding through the streets virtually ignored the marked-down prices in clothing stores. They seemed to be spending all their money on cold drinks, watermelons, ice-cream, and more cold drinks.

The heat also had an effect on beggars, most of whom forsook their regular beats. It was just too hot to stand with one's hand out.

A few optimists said they detected a breeze which made yesterday more bearable. But it apparently didn't blow hard enough to reach downtown Jerusalem. The hot paving stones of the Ben-Yehuda mall were unusually bare. A few sufferers sat at the outdoor coffee shops. At one usually packed watering hole, patrons who sat inside found it even more stifling than on the pavement.

At the other end of the town, people who expected relief in the air-conditioned comfort of the Centre One coffee shop found it just slightly cooler than the street. The air-conditioning system broke down.

It is days like yesterday that make air-conditioning connoisseurs out of more mortals and transform a shopping expedition into a series of carefully planned dashes from one cool shelter to the next.

At an icecream parlour, where business is generally brisk, it was a very slow day.

At Hamashbir department store, business was so quiet that the doorman fell asleep on his stool and forgot all about inspecting backpacks, shopping bags and purses. Hamashbir was actually a good place to be in because throughout the store the atmosphere was cool. But to get there one had to go out in the street — and that was something which Jerusalemites were yesterday reluctant to do.

Red tape snares drivers in Sinai

Israeli tourists hoping to enter the Sinai in private cars registered in someone else's name have been running into problems at the Taba border post.

Drivers of rented cars have not been affected, but Egyptian officials have barred vacationers driving cars belonging to friends or kibbutzim.

Egyptian ambassador to Israel Mohammed Bassiouny has yet to respond to an appeal from Israeli tourist bodies made four months ago, but has promised to deal with the matter.

Israeli drivers entering the Sinai through Taba must carry several documents, including a registration in English, and an international drivers licence. Drivers are required to pay a \$25 insurance levy, with an additional \$5 for each passenger. (Itm)

Wedding guests wind up in hospital

Jerusalem Post Reporter

ACRE. — Health Ministry experts are testing samples of food served at an Arab wedding feast at Makr village near here after 163 guests — and the bride — became ill, apparently from food poisoning.

Most of those who were admitted to the Nahariya hospital on Saturday night, a few hours after eating at the reception, were released yesterday. Meanwhile, police have interviewed the groom's father, who hosted the feast.

ROMANCE. — Some 100 U.S. singles, here on an American Jewish Congress tour, were joined by 40 Israeli singles, for a party held Saturday night at the Tiberias Plaza.

After 1900 Years It's Time For A Change

You may think you're on top of the world. But let's face it. That world is in pretty bad shape. Sickness, hunger, corruption, crime and terror have become part of our reality. Beyond our control?

Not according to Jewish belief.

Maimonides tells us: "Even one good thought, word or deed can affect the entire world for good."

We believe this world can be wholesome and good. It's in our power to turn things around and make the world a fitting place for G-d's presence.

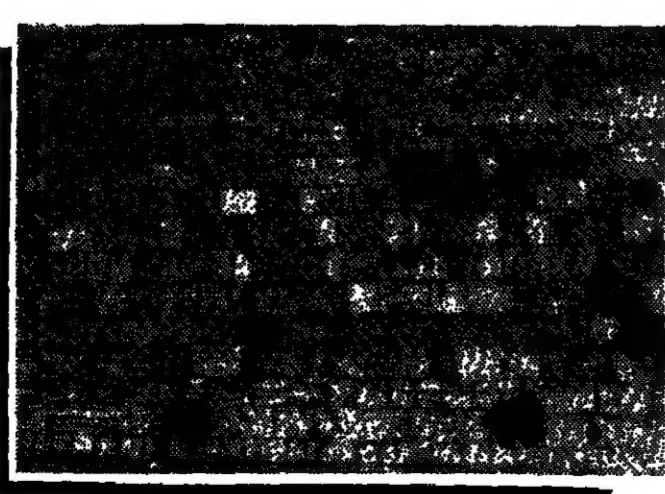
It's in the hands of every individual. And that means you!

Right now we are in the "Three Weeks" Period (this year July 14 - August 4). The "Three Weeks" are a time of sorrow for calamitous events in Jewish history, culminating in the destruction of the second Temple in Jerusalem 1900 years ago.

We lament not only the mute monument, but more important the departure of G-d's revealed presence from among us which the Temple represented.

But the Lubavitcher Rebbe, Rabbi Menachem M. Schneerson, stresses that lamenting is not enough. The Three Weeks should be a time of action. We must find positive ways to express our faith in the arrival of Mashiach and the rebuilding of the Temple.

We must find ways to correct the situation.



The remaining "Western Wall" (Kotel HaMasa) of the Holy Temple in Jerusalem.

The Rebbe has therefore proposed we intensify our efforts in three areas:

1. STUDY TORAH: Our sages tell us that G-d considers study of the Temple's construction as if we actually build it!

So the Rebbe has called upon all Jews to study about the Holy Temple during these three weeks. Texts include:

Scripture: EZEKIEL Chapters 40-43.
Talmud: Mishna tractate MIDDOT.
Halacha: Code of Maimonides, HILCHOT BEIT HABECHIRA

All are available in English translation, with commentaries, illustrations and diagrams. Lectures and study groups in these subjects will be held at locations across the globe during these weeks.

2. Give additional charity: As the prophet Isaiah says: "Those who return (to Zion) will be redeemed through charity."

3. Come together: The Talmud points to ill-feelings toward one another as cause of the Temple's destruction 1900 years ago. The Rebbe proposes we correct this by holding special get-togethers during these weeks to foster friendship, unity and unconditional brotherly love.

SO IT'S UP TO YOU!

The world's scales are evenly poised. A little Torah study, charity or brotherly love may tip the balance of history.

That deed may be yours....

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Elusive Images



Reagan's Top Aides Paint Conflicting Presidential Portraits

By R. W. APPLE JR.

WASHINGTON

THE Congressional committees studying the Iran-contra affair will not hear testimony from President Reagan, so they will not have a chance to form a firsthand picture of his role in the controversy. But Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Rear Adm. John M. Poindexter, two men who know him well and who met him often during the period in question, have drawn portraits of the President — portraits that don't always match.

Before the committee began its work, the sharpest public image of Mr. Reagan as a foreign policy manager had been that offered by the Tower Commission, which described him as disengaged, uninformed, almost passive. "At no time," its report said, "did he insist upon accountability and performance review. Setting priorities is not enough when it comes to sensitive and risky initiatives that directly affect U.S. national security."

Both Admiral Poindexter and Secretary Shultz challenged that conclusion, at least in part. This was a man, the former national security adviser asserted, who "reads everything you give him," including an Israeli diplomat's book on combating terrorism. The secretary, agreed, explicitly challenging the notion of Mr. Reagan as a remote and uninvolved leader.

Mr. Shultz insisted that "I could see the President any time I wanted." He told one of his interrogators, "You seem to miss the point that this President is a very decisive person." At another point, he commented with some asperity, "This idea that the President just sits around not paying any attention — I don't know where anybody got that idea."

Admiral Poindexter put it this way: "This is a very strong President who is very willing to take unpopular positions and provide leadership to the country."

On the question of accountability, Admiral Poindexter said that he had

full authority to deal with such questions as the diversion of funds to the Nicaraguan rebels without consulting Mr. Reagan and without obtaining a high-level opinion as to its legality. He insisted, in the face of repeated White House denials, that the President, had he been asked, would have decided to approve of the action Admiral Poindexter took.

Mr. Shultz said he was sure the President would not have done so. But he did not directly address the question of whether the admiral had the authority he claimed, remarking only that the decision "should not have been in his hands in the first place" — which suggests that he found it credible that the admiral believed that he had such powers. (*Covert action and democracy, page 3.*)

To Admiral Poindexter, Mr. Reagan was clear in his mind from the start about the arms shipments to Iran, an undertaking that the admiral still defends: "From the earliest discussions in which I took part, which would have been, by my recollection, the 7th of December 1985, the President never viewed this as arms for hostages."

Secretary Shultz was at some pains to praise Mr. Reagan's judgment. He said that "one of his outstanding attributes is his capacity for judgment and his willingness to be decisive and stand up to the decisions that he

makes." But in this pivotal case, the secretary said, he disagreed with the judgment that the President made.

Both men were eager to demonstrate their loyalty to and admiration of the President, but since they disagreed sharply on the wisdom of the arms shipments, it was perhaps not surprising that they also disagreed sharply on why Mr. Reagan reached the decision he did.

Through Admiral Poindexter's eyes, it was a matter of the President listening to the various arguments, weighing them carefully and siding with those who had made the stronger case — including himself. He described one meeting at which Mr. Shultz and Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger voiced their objections, then added: "The President listened to all of this very carefully. And at the end of the discussion, at least the first round, he sat back and he said something to the effect that, 'I don't feel that we can leave any stone unturned in trying to get the hostages back.'"

Through Mr. Shultz's eyes, even though he said he could see Mr. Reagan whenever he wanted to, the President was the victim of bad advice from Mr. Poindexter and from William J. Casey, the late director of Central Intelligence, that led his best instincts astray.

As late as last November, the secretary testified, he

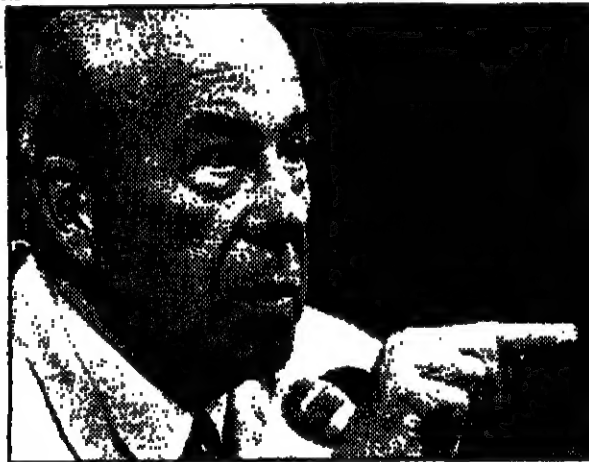
talked with the President before a news conference, filled him in on some matters connected with the Iran initiative and heard Mr. Reagan reply, "You're telling me things that I don't know, that are news to me." Mr. Shultz said he answered, "Well, Mr. President, I don't know very much, but if I'm telling you things that are news to you, then you are not being given the kind of flow of information you deserve to be given."

Did the President rely too much on Mr. Casey? "Well," Mr. Shultz said, "he was the Director of Central Intelligence, so he had access more than any other individual to this immense and impressive flow of information and the analytical capabilities that go with it."

Some who listened to the secretary's testimony on Thursday thought he was suggesting, if only by indirection, that the President had deceived him. He had said, after all, that he had met Mr. Reagan shortly after the President had signed each of three findings authorizing the Iran arms sales, and that Mr. Reagan had not mentioned the documents. But when Senator George J. Mitchell, Democrat of Maine, pressed him, Mr. Shultz bristled, saying, "If the thrust of your question is that the President was part of an effort to see that I didn't know what was going on, I don't believe that."

And that, more or less, is where the portrait-painting left off. As to the Administration, the outlines were clear: it had conducted a policy in which cock-and-bull stories, to use Mr. Shultz's phrase, were told to him, Congress, the Iranians, and almost everyone. But the President emerged less clearly — diligent and involved, but unaware of much that was going on, clear on what to do, but not communicating it to others, easy for his subordinates to see, yet perhaps ill-supplied with information.

Both Admiral Poindexter and Secretary Shultz sought to portray their boss in the best possible light. Yet ultimately it was his Administration in which Mr. Shultz's "battle royal" and "guerrilla warfare" were taking place. And the admiral's assertion notwithstanding, it is on Mr. Reagan's desk that the buck stops.



Secretary of State George P. Shultz (left), testifying before the Congressional Iran-contra committees, said President Reagan was the victim of bad advice from Rear Adm. John M. Poindexter (center) and William J. Casey, the late C.I.A. Director.

Explosion Rekindles Criticism of Escort Risks

A Mine Sends Shock Waves Through U.S. Policy in Gulf

By ALAN COWELL

LESS than three months after an Iraqi missile killed 37 American Navy sailors aboard the frigate Stark, the United States was plunged anew last week into a critical debate over the scope, purpose and prospects of its role in the Persian Gulf and its credibility throughout the Arab world.

The fears and misgivings were rekindled Friday when the Kuwaiti tanker Bridgeton, sailing under the American flag and escorted by three United States Navy warships, struck a mine only 18 miles from the Iranian island of Farsi. The physical damage seemed limited, and, unlike the May 17 Iraqi attack on the Stark that Baghdad later said was an accident, no injuries were reported aboard the Bridgeton.

"If we had hit that, it would have done enormous damage to the Kido," said Cmdr. Daniel J. Murphy, skipper of the destroyer Kidd escorting the tanker. But the

potential for damage to American credibility and prestige went further.

The 401,382-ton Bridgeton, 1,200 feet long — accompanied by a smaller tanker, the Gas Prince, and their naval escort — had become a symbol of American resolve to defy Soviet encroachment in the gulf and to challenge Iran's revolutionary leaders.

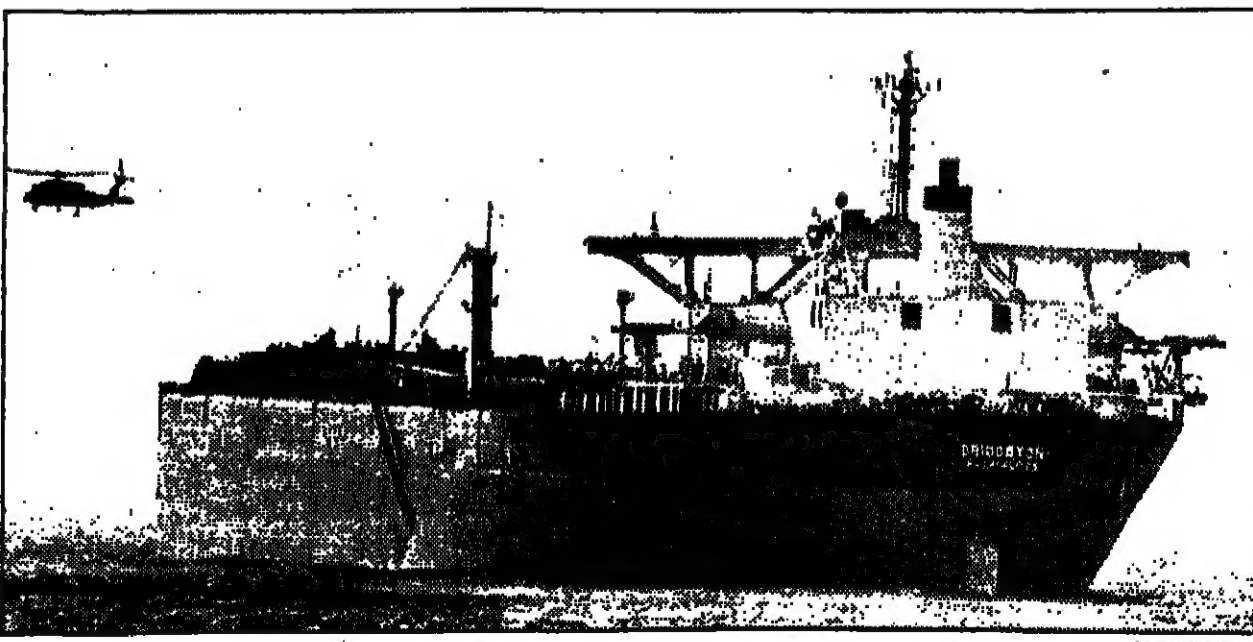
The United States embarked on a dual policy, securing a United Nations Security Council resolution last week ordering a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war, and then re-registering 11 Kuwaiti vessels to offer them American protection from Iranian attack. That seemed to tilt Washington's proclaimed neutrality toward Iraq, for which Kuwait has proved a vital ally, and to risk embarrassments that might bring renewed Arab questioning about the worth of American protection.

When the Bridgeton hit the mine, Washington found itself involved in a role that seemed to many Americans to represent an inverted David and Goliath, pitting the technological sophistication and military might of the West against an intrusion of low-technology sabotage not covered by the rules of conventional warfare.

"The U.S. schemes," said Iran's Prime Minister, Mir-Hossein Mousavi, "were foiled by invisible hands and it was proved how vulnerable the Americans are, despite their huge and unprecedented military expedition in the Persian Gulf to escort Kuwait tankers."

There were also more detailed questions. Before the Bridgeton sailed, four tankers, including a Soviet vessel under Soviet naval escort, had also struck mines in the gulf sea lanes. The Soviet Union has stationed several minesweepers in the gulf, and the threat of mines is well known. Why, then, were American-sponsored minesweeping activities limited to the deep-water channel leading to Kuwait's ports 16 miles northwest of Farsi Island? Pentagon officials in Washington said the Navy has only two dozen old minesweepers, none available for use in the gulf, and 23 anti-mine helicopters, which require a base or ship as a landing platform.

Also, if the purpose of the venture was to demonstrate resolve, how could it be demonstrated against an



The re-registered tanker Bridgeton, which was damaged by a mine in the Persian Gulf last week.

anonymous mine? "My personal belief," said Commander Murphy, "is that those mines were laid last night from Farsi Island." But the White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, seemed less inclined to make an attribution. "We have not determined any source for the planting of the mine and at this time, retaliation is not a matter of consideration," he said.

The caution at the White House recalled the Russian response after the Soviet tanker Marshal Chukov struck a mine on its inaugural voyage while under lease to Kuwait on May 16. And that brought up the geopolitical reasoning by which the Reagan Administration has sought to justify its presence in the gulf, overriding doubts in Congress. Until Iranian naval units boarded a Soviet freighter in the gulf last year, Moscow had no permanent naval presence in this area, long regarded as a Western sphere of influence. Now, at Kuwait's behest, and to the consternation of other littoral states, the Russians have "a position that they would never have dreamed of six months ago," a West European diplomat said. "Because of the chartering of their tankers, they have legitimized their presence in the gulf and no one questions them."

That coup, the diplomat said, added to Moscow's other Middle East initiatives, has revived Soviet regional diplomacy in what many diplomats here regard as the sophisticated style of Mikhail S. Gorbachev. "This is a

classic maneuver," the diplomat said. "Once they have come into a room, they will begin to question your own presence in it."

By some accounts, Soviet and American perceptions of the situation in the gulf have overlapped, however. Both, according to diplomats here, are worried by the apparent shift in the seven-year Iran-Iraq land war in favor of Tehran, the attacks on their vessels in May, and last week's mine attack on the Bridgeton. Both have discovered, too, that their flags alone do not deter attack; both, thus, sponsored last week's cease-fire resolution at the United Nations.

For the Reagan Administration, facing a Congress that places limits on Middle East policy that are sometimes depicted here as part of an overall American hesitancy, the predicament remains acute. Having embarked on the policy of flags and convoys, a Western diplomat said, the imperative is to continue, despite the risks, in this unpredictable area gripped by war, contested by the Russians and accounting, in shipments through the gulf alone, for one-sixth of the non-Communist world's oil supplies. While members of Congress were demanding withdrawal, long-term strategic concerns argued for confronting the perils. "Unlike Saigon or Lebanon," a West European diplomat said. "You cannot simply walk away from the gulf."

On arms talks,
Moscow fashions
a winning image

3

The World



Swiss policemen storm the entrance of Air Afrique plane in Geneva after crew had overpowered a hijacker.

Lebanese Hijacker Captured After Killing Passenger

Hoping to gain the release of two brothers imprisoned in West Germany on terrorism charges, a Lebanese gunman hijacked an Air Afrique jet on Friday, apparently planning to take it to the Middle East. The 21-year-old Shiite Moslem commandeered the plane, which was bound from Brazzaville, Congo, to Paris, after a stop in Rome.

"He ran into the cockpit and was very excited," said Capt. Edouard Arizazu, the pilot of the DC-10, which was carrying 148 passengers and 15 crew members. "He said he had a score to settle with the French."

While the plane was refueling in Geneva, the hijacker, Hussein Ali Mohammed Hariri, killed one of the 84 French passengers. Other passengers opened the rear doors and escaped, apparently distracting him. He was overpowered and captured by crew members in a fight that left a steward critically wounded.

Aquino's Decree On Land Reform

Since the end of Spanish colonial rule in 1898, many Philippine leaders have tried to bring about land reform and failed. Both the appeal and the pitfalls of redistribution were demonstrated last week when Corason C. Aquino issued a decree aimed at breaking up some of the country's vast plantations and giving private plots to some of the millions of landless farm workers.

The program, which broadens a law promulgated by former President Ferdinand E. Marcos to cover the large sugar and coconut estates, was Mrs. Aquino's most significant step in 17 months in office to address the social imbalances that have fueled a Communist insurgency.

But it was a compromise that seemed to please no one. Advocates of land redistribution complained that the decree merely set broad guidelines, leaving questions of a timetable, maximum legal landholdings and other important issues to the largely conservative Congress. The legislature, when it convenes tomorrow, will be able to curtail the President's decree-making powers. Landowners were also unhappy, although Mrs. Aquino shied away from the vast transfer of wealth recommended by the Roman Catholic Church. Land redistribution is seen as a crucial step in removing Mr. Marcos's legacy of hidden wealth and monopolies. But some economists say it could mean a drop in productivity in a country that can ill afford it.

Showing Distaste For Panama Chief

Heartened by the movement toward democracy in the Philippines and South Korea, the United States was doing its bit last week to loosen yet another military leader's grip on power. Administration officials said all aid to Panama had been suspended in an effort to pressure Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, who controls Panama's military and its Government.

The aid was suspended after an attack June 30 on the American Embassy by a crowd that included Government ministers. The attack followed Washington's call for an investigation of charges by one of the general's former military associates that implicated General Noriega in

political murder and election fraud. The accusations prompted widespread anti-Government protests.

Panama has promised to pay \$106,000 for the embassy damage, but that may not suffice. "We're not going to restore the aid if they're still tear-gassing people in the streets," a State Department official said.

United States officials have long been cool to General Noriega, privately accusing him of involvement in sharing intelligence data with Fidel Castro and in drug smuggling. But they have hesitated to do anything that might disturb agreements concerning the Panama Canal or the presence in Panama of United States intelligence operations aimed at Central America.

More Trouble For Rajiv Gandhi

Moving to crush a potential rival, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, expelled his former Finance Minister, Vishwanath Pratap Singh, from the ruling Congress Party last week.

But Mr. Singh seemed unabashed and his supporters accused the Prime Minister of corruption and called on him to quit. In Mr. Singh's political home base, Uttar Pradesh, dozens of local legislators rallied to his support, challenging Congress control of the country's most populous state. The once-omnipotent Congress and its allies control only 15 of the 25 state governments.

As Finance Minister, Mr. Singh had launched a politically sensitive campaign against tax fraud and the illegal export of capital that touched Congress contributors. Mr. Gandhi transferred him to the Defense Ministry, where he pursued suspected bribery cases in military purchasing and was again dismissed.

Showing his own interest in clean government, Mr. Gandhi forced the resignation from Parliament of India's most popular film actor, Amitabh Bachchan. Mr. Bachchan's brother, Ajitabh, one of Mr. Gandhi's oldest friends, has been accused of violations of laws against exporting capital.

A spokesman for the former Finance Minister and his supporters said their aim was "to make the members of the Congress Party realize that we are courting disaster under the present leadership."

At Last a Majority Rules in Portugal

After 48 years of right-wing dictatorship, followed by 13 years of faltering coalitions and minority Governments, Portugal finally elected its first majority party last week. Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva's Social Democrats won 50 percent of the vote and at least 145 of the 250 seats in Parliament.

The Socialists held onto second place with 58 seats and about 22 percent of the vote. The Communists and the center-left Democratic Renewal Party of former President Antonio Ramalho Eanes did poorly, and the conservative Christian Democrats also lost ground.

Mr. Cavaco Silva, a stolid former economics professor, promised that his center-right party would improve living standards that are Western Europe's worst. He favors selling or dissolving the country's many unprofitable public companies and bolstering Portuguese farmers so they can hold their own in the European Community. If the Socialists now agree, he could now muster the required two-thirds majorities to amend the leftist-inspired 1975 Constitution, which was drafted after leftist officers toppled the dictatorship in 1974.

Mr. Cavaco Silva is a strong supporter of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. However, he is expected to seek increased American aid in return for use of military bases in the Azores and, if Washington asks, for providing a home for the F-16's that are threatened with ouster from their base in neighboring Spain.

Katherine Roberts, Milt Freudenhelm and James F. Clarity

Salvador Guerrillas Now a Presence in Capital

Rebels Gain While Duarte Flounders

By JAMES LeMOYNE

THE Salvadoran guerrillas are practicing what they call "prolonged popular war" with a vengeance, as the country slides into its eighth year of civil conflict.

In a tactical shift, the Marxist-led rebels of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front are rebuilding their political and military presence in the capital, moving to exploit Government failures and severe economic strain.

The Government of President José Napoleón Duarte, which had the rebels on the run two years ago, has now given them room to gain. It has failed to offer social and economic programs that work and, after three years of formal electoral democracy, the average Salvadoran feels worse off. "This Government does not realize that it is fighting a revolutionary war," a senior military officer said. "It has failed to apply the social and economic programs the country needs and it is losing its social base among workers and peasants."

Because Salvadorans are weary of killing and war, the rebels may well fail to find new supporters among disgruntled urban workers and slum dwellers. But they clearly intend to try, saying they have returned to San Salvador to sharpen political and economic tensions. According to captured rebel documents, the guerrillas hope to spark a general strike before the American and Salvadoran elections in 1988 and 1989.

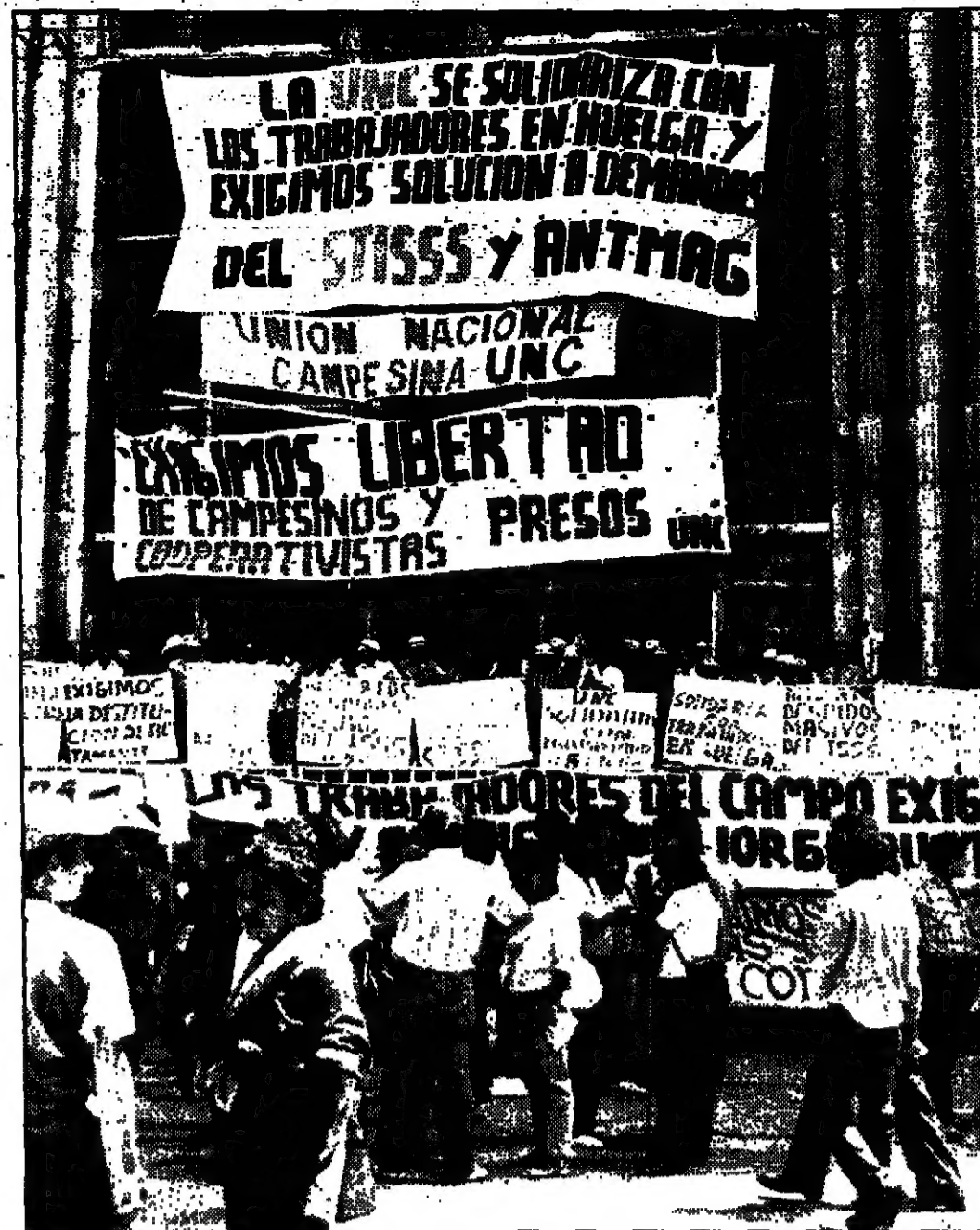
Such a strike seems highly unlikely but the documents, which both rebel and diplomatic sources say are authentic, outline step by step how the guerrillas intend to pursue it. The strategy calls for the formation of front groups in labor unions, student organizations and human rights committees. These groups would serve as a base to seek wider support, while they hold strikes, sit-ins, embassy occupations and the street demonstrations that are already under way. At the same time, the documents show, rebel military cells are infiltrating the capital to raise "the level of violence" and further weaken the Government. Several bombings and an effective rebel-imposed ban on public transport two weeks ago attest to the rebel presence.

They have been assisted by the lifting of the longstanding state of siege that permitted the police to detain suspects for two weeks and prohibited street demonstrations. Suspected rebels can now be detained for only three days, after which they are usually released. Government officials say the civil courts are afraid to convict suspected guerrillas, who are capable of retribution.

Nearly every week 200 to 500 rebel supporters demonstrate in the capital. In two recent incidents, the police wounded demonstrators wielding nail-studded clubs as they tried to break through police lines. The police also opened fire when demonstrators began destroying Government vehicles. But the authorities' overall response has been cautious.

It is highly debatable whether the rebels' new tactics can be successful. People resent bans on public transport and attacks in the largely tranquil capital. They also fear a possible return of Government repression. Several bystanders last week criticized club-carrying students for being violent. The size of demonstrations is diminishing, not growing.

But unemployment and inflation are rising and the Government is widely seen by Salvadorans



Workers and peasants, including rebel supporters, demonstrating in San Salvador.

as incompetent and corrupt. At a time when Mr. Duarte's popularity seems to be lower than ever, the rebels are making their political presence felt. They have spray-painted most of the city's walls and the American Embassy with slogans. And in poorer neighborhoods, residents showed greater sympathy for demonstrators.

For their part, the guerrillas say they had no alternative but to return to the streets after four years in which, for most city dwellers, they had become little more than a faceless military force somewhere in the distant hills. They are trying to recover the political base they had in 1980 before the Government cracked down on them, a probably unattainable goal.

The rebels have also been working for two years to perfect a new military strategy. They infiltrate army units and then launch precise and devastating attacks by specially trained forces, backed by highly accurate mortar fire.

Military officials say they believe the army is now thoroughly infiltrated by the rebels.

Meanwhile, the guerrillas have continued to use land mines and, more recently, remote-controlled mines to great effect. According to captured guerrilla documents and rebel deserters, most of the top commanders have been trained in Cuba and, in several cases, Vietnam. After eight years of polishing the techniques of revolutionary war, they are unquestionably the most able practitioners of it in Latin America. With probably 30,000 committed supporters, they have been able to cripple this small country of more than six million people.

While they are effective in battle, the rebels have yet to show that they can be more than spoilers. But given Government incompetence and their will to fight, it would be a mistake to underestimate their capacity to grow stronger.

A Voice From Lagos

Waiting, Once Again, for Democracy

By RAY EKPU

THINK of a man who has been married several times and several times his marriage has collapsed like a house of cards.

His faith in the institution of marriage, however, remains unshaken and unshakable. Each time he falls, his most inner instinct propels him to try harder in the hope that the next attempt may be crowned with success.

The romance of Nigerians with democratic government has never been a success, but the flirtation goes on. After the collapse of two civilian Governments in 1966 and 1983, Africa's most populous black nation is once again euphoric about the prospects of a return to democratic rule.

By 1992, when the soldiers promised to return the country to civilian rule, the military will have run Nigeria for a total of 22 years since independence in 1960.

This month, Maj. Gen. Ibrahim B. Babangida, the President, unveiled a program for the installation of a democratic government in five years that, if successful, is expected to nail down the coffin of military dictatorship. He said the timetable was "aimed at establishing a gradual and graduated learning process while establishing a new political culture."

Last year, the President said the change would take place in 1990. Some critics saw the shift to 1992 as his failure to keep faith. A leading Lagos lawyer, Gani Fawehinmi, said that the "inconsistency" will alienate some pressure groups in the country. Dr. Tai Solarin, a well-known activist, put it another way. "Nigerians are not learning anything from the military," he said, "and the earlier they quit the stage, the better for us all."

Nigerians have reasons to be fussy about promises made and broken. Their experience is that promises are remembered more for the breach than for the observance. When Gen. Yakubu Gowon said in 1974 that his promise to return the country to civilian rule in 1976 was no longer realistic, Nigerians thought it was a sit-tight ploy by the military, which had been in power for eight years. When General Gowon was overthrown in July 1975, the

Ray Ekpu is the editor of *Newswatch*, which was the leading newsmagazine in Nigeria until last April, when the Government ordered it closed for six months because, officials said, it had published a secret report on the country's political future.

new military leaders cited his failure to keep promises as one of his cardinal sins.

Some Nigerians, however, believe that Mr. Babangida's extension of the transition date does not hurt the Government's credibility. Toyé Coker, a prominent lawyer, said the military should not be stampeded out of office for "there are still many things it should attend to before it quits the political scene." Adeniran Ogunsanya, a former politician of the Second Republic, the four-year period of democratic rule that ended in a coup in 1983, argued that it is wise to make haste slowly, considering that the agenda for transition is congested with activities.

President Babangida's July 1 speech enunciated a schedule that, if faithfully implemented,

should lead to an era of crisis-free political succession and also mean an end to the horrid specter of rumbling tanks and sound of martial music at dawn. The timetable provides for local non-party elections this year, a constituent assembly in 1988, the lifting of a ban on party politics in 1989, state elections and a census in 1991, and nationwide elections in 1992.

But the transition program contains several elements that are at best controversial and at worst explosive. The creation of new states, for example, is likely to be pressed by various ethnic groups who see them as a way to acquire more Government revenue and political representation. And although the two-party system decreed by the Government may infuse sanity into the system and prevent the kind of bedlam witnessed in 1983 when some 50 political organizations clamored for recognition, limiting the parties to two may tend to polarize the country along north-south and Moslem-Christian lines. If that happens, tensions may be exacerbated.

No less important is a national census, an effort that has failed twice in the past. Population in Nigeria is a political issue and political wisdom dictates that every community inflate its numbers to benefit from higher revenue and representation. Every head count therefore invites conflict. A former head of state, Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, described the census in Nigeria as a cemetery, a place where governments are buried.

To avert some of these problems, the Government intends to plug loopholes in the American-style Constitution when a committee meets later this year to overhaul it.

A new direction in Nigeria's politics is likely. The death in May of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, leader of the opposition during the period of civilian rule after independence, and the inactivity of 83-year-old Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the country's first President, appear to signal the demise of gerontocracy in Nigeria. The speculation is that with the exit of the old grand masters, whose politics was anchored largely on tribe, it may be easier for younger politicians to forge alliances.

But the assumption cannot be stretched too far. The Kiri-Kiri prison in Lagos has been filled with some of the younger politicians. And politicians have distinguished themselves over the years not for public service but for self-service.

The success of Nigeria's latest romance with democratic government therefore will depend on whether its politicians have learned something or forgotten something.



Maj. Gen. Ibrahim B. Babangida

How Can Democracy and Covert Action Be Reconciled?

THE Iran-contra hearings have raised fundamental questions about the formulation and conduct of foreign policy by a democracy, but they have provided few answers. These questions included whether it is possible, as Rear Adm. John M. Poindexter has argued, to justify lying to and misleading Congress, circumventing the foreign policy process, and keeping the Cabinet members and even the President in the dark about major decisions to preserve secrecy. What does the Iran-contra affair say about the future of the relations between the legislative and executive branches of government? What is the proper role of covert action? Andrew Rosenthal, a reporter in the Washington bureau of The New York Times, discussed some of these issues with former Government officials, academics and legal experts.

Brent Scowcroft

Retired Air Force general who served as national security adviser under President Ford.

I am a strong believer in the primacy of the executive, because the making of policy is very difficult by 535 people and its execution is impossible. But our system can only run when the two are in some kind of cooperative relationship. Therefore, however fondly the executive branch may look at the notion of a Congress that doesn't interfere at all, that is not the real world and that is not the constitutional world.

One of my problems with these hearings is that they by and large have not focused on that constitutional issue. The committees are setting themselves up as an impartial judge of the executive branch instead of seeing themselves as part of the problem. They have focused in on individual mistakes, not on the major policy issues.

Stansfield Turner

Retired admiral and former Director of Central Intelligence

I do not think there's anything wrong with failing to respond, and I could conceivably feel that an official could be put in a position where he would feel compelled to lie, let's say to the Congress. But he should then immediately go back to the same people, or at least somebody in responsibility and, behind the scenes, acknowledge that he had lied with deliberateness because he was in an open forum. If pressed, that's what you do, not lie and allow it to remain as the impression that people have.

The Congress now will feel obliged, because it has been lied to, to ask many more detailed questions than I would have felt comfortable answering in connection with the covert actions that I briefed the Congress on. The Congress needs enough information so as to supervise, but not so much information as to compromise. You can't write a law that spells out the boundary between supervision and compromise.

Iran-Contra Affair

The Story Unfolds

Sentiment on the Iran-contra committees swung during the week from general skepticism and disapproval of Rear Adm. John M. Poindexter's final testimony on Tuesday to acceptance and praise of Secretary of State George P. Shultz's candor at week's end. Highlights of the week's developments follow.

- Admiral Poindexter took issue with Lieut. Col. Oliver L. North's testimony that he had sent at least five memos asking for Presidential approval of the diversion of Iran arms sales profits to the contras. The memos would have been given to the admiral, and he said he did see the one that has been made public. As for the others, he said: "I frankly don't think those existed."

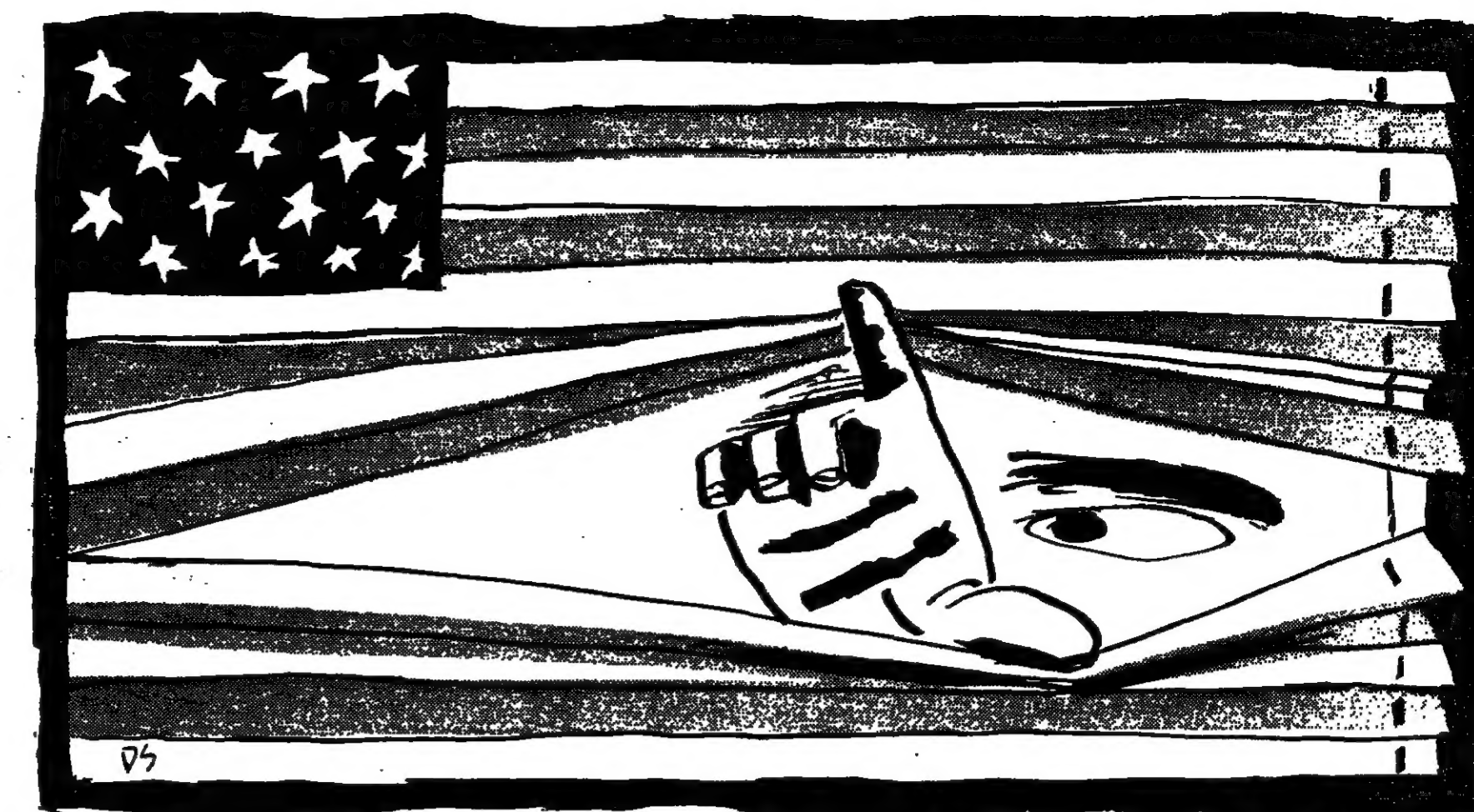
- Many members of the Congressional committees said they did not believe the admiral's version of several key events and were skeptical of the many times he was unable to recall events. The panels released fitness reports from his years in the Navy that said he had a "photographic memory."

- The special prosecutor in the Iran-contra affair asked the Justice Department to turn over thousands of records from the Justice Department as part of his investigation into the department's much-criticized inquiry into the Iran arms sales in November. A Justice official called the request "absolutely massive — every scrap of paper from Meese and anybody else in the department." Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d will testify before the committees this week or next.

- In uncharacteristically blunt and angry testimony, Mr. Shultz said Admiral Poindexter and William J. Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence, had deceived him and the President over many months to keep the Iran arms sales alive. When Mr. Shultz finally told the President what was really going on late last year, he said, Mr. Reagan "was stunned, and he was furious." The President reacted "like he'd been kicked in the belly."

- Mr. Shultz disputed assertions made over the last six months that he had deliberately kept himself uninformed of the Iran arms deals. He said he had argued forcefully against the program, was overruled and then was lied to as the sales proceeded. He called the arguments within the Cabinet over the policy "a battle royal."

- A White House spokesman said President Reagan had found Mr. Shultz's testimony "honest, sincere and helpful." But other White House officials appeared uncomfortable with his portrayal of disarray and factional disputes in the Administration.



Drawings by Denis Schuster

Morton Halperin

Washington director of the American Civil Liberties Union

It's clear that everybody in the world knew about our aid to the contras and our shipping of arms to Iran except the American Congress and the American people. The Iranians knew about it, the Israelis knew about it, the arms merchants knew about it. Similarly with aid to the contras. It was clear to the Nicaraguans there was such aid, it was clear to the contras. Again, it was only the American people who believed their Government obeyed the law. Therefore, the explanation that we had to do this for foreign policy reasons is ridiculous. It was kept secret precisely because they knew that if they made it public, Congress would stop it.

Congress needs to legislate very clear rules. It needs to eliminate the loopholes in the War Powers Act, in the Intelligence Oversight Act, make it clear that whenever the President is doing anything in this area, he has to consult Congress in advance. Congressional restrictions need to be obeyed and that has to be backed up with specific criminal penalties. And that has to be enforced by someone who is independent of the Attorney General.

Samuel P. Huntington

Director of the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University; member of the National Security Council staff under President Carter

As a superpower, just about everybody agrees, we have to engage in covert action at times and, for a long period after World War II, that was not challenged. But in addition to the major change of the U.S. role in the world after World War II, we have had since the early 1970's what is almost in my view a constitutional revolution in the way in which we conduct our foreign policy. There is a new role of Congress in the conduct of foreign policy, with Congress playing a much more active and directive

and guiding role, and we've also had the dispersion of power within Congress so that there is no longer a small group of Congressional leaders who can speak for their colleagues in Congress.

The problem is how do you reconcile that change with this active role of the U.S. in a world which is peopled by some not very nice governments and movements? With great difficulty. First of all, it is necessary for the executive, the leaders of the executive, to be much more forthcoming than apparently the leaders of this Administration have been in consulting with the key leaders in Congress. It is also appropriate for Congress to exercise some forbearance in attempting to exert power over foreign affairs.

Bobby R. Inman

Retired admiral and former Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

The key is that you have to work hard to make the processes we have in place for conduct of covert operations work. That says you've got to work hard to build bipartisan support.

You've got to explain why you need to keep it closely held, to the members of Congress. And you have to continue to work at it. You can sustain that bipartisan support if you avoid surprise or letting arise the concern that they're being misled, or cut out of the process. And since ultimately, every one of these adventures costs money, you ultimately have to deal with the founding fathers giving the power of the purse strings to Congress.

The goal shouldn't be unanimity. That's not achievable except under times of great stress. But if you can't get a bipartisan majority, you have to ask some fundamental questions about whether you are on the right track. There is a phenomenon that I've watched in a number of administrations. There's a siege mentality that can take over pretty quickly. It's sort of us against them. The "them" is Congress, the media, anybody who doesn't agree.

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick

Former United States Ambassador to the United Nations

I would have no problem if the President had asserted at the time of the Boland Amendment, "We regard this prohibition to be unconstitutional." Or with regard to the last extension of the requirement of prior notification of covert activities, if he had said, "I regard this as unwise and unwarranted usurpation of Presidential authority and I will therefore not honor these requirements."

He could then have sought to bring about a judicial test, as a conscious policy decision, for which the President took clear responsibility. I think that would have been appropriate, and, as a matter of fact, a very good thing to do.



U.S. on the Defensive in Propaganda War

On Arms, Moscow Has a Winning Image

By MICHAEL R. GORDON

MIKHAIL S. GORBACHEV has again shown his flair for the dramatic, casting himself as a dynamic leader willing to make important concessions on arms control. And with his announcement last week that the Soviet Union is prepared to accept a worldwide ban on American and Soviet medium-range and short-range missiles, Mr. Gorbachev has once again caught Washington by surprise. At a hastily called press conference, the White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, cautiously welcomed the Soviet announcement, noting that the idea of eliminating American and Soviet medium-range missiles was first suggested by President Reagan in his "zero option" proposal in 1981.

As the White House knows all too well, such reminders are necessary. According to a confidential poll taken in May for the United States Information Agency, clear pluralities in West Germany, France and Britain wrongly believe that the Soviet Union first proposed the "zero option."

The maneuvering over medium-range missiles and their shorter-range cousins can also be seen as a battle for public opinion in Western Europe, which the Soviet Union hopes eventually to separate from the United States by encouraging neutralist and anti-nuclear tendencies. The riddle facing the Administration is that Washington is not faring well on this front, even though it is getting just about everything it wants at the negotiating table.

As the U.S.I.A. survey noted, members of "the general public aware of the arms negotiations" in the three countries "overwhelmingly credit Gorbachev for the recent progress." This was most sharply the case in West Germany, where 72 percent awarded most of the credit to Mr. Gorbachev and only 9 percent credited President Reagan. Last week, Moscow was again clearly playing to West German sensibilities, identifying Bonn's short-range Pershing 1A missiles as the major sticking point in the negotiation.

Several factors seemed to be contributing to his public relations successes. For one thing, the United States has yielded the tactical initiative in the arms negotiations to the Soviet Union in recent years. The reactive American approach, in part, reflects the Administration's difficulties in resolving sharp internal disagreements between the State and Defense Departments. The Reagan White House has been reluctant to choose sides and, as a result, has found it convenient to put off tough decisions until the Russians force the Administration's hand.



A West German Pershing 1A missile.

The reactive position also reflects the deeply held view of many officials that past Administrations have been too eager to suggest compromises, and that the United States has more to gain by standing firm. Beyond that, Americans officials say it is inherently easier for the Kremlin to make dramatic changes in tactics since it has no Congress to hold it accountable.

Mr. Gorbachev's political skill is another important factor. It was clearly evident last week as he spurned the State Department's request for a meeting this month between Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze. Administration officials had hoped Moscow would move toward the American position at the meeting.

Instead, Mr. Gorbachev avoided any impression of rewarding Washington for hanging tough. He presented his acceptance of the proposed missile ban as a magnanimous "effort to accommodate the Asian countries and take into account their concerns." His acceptance of the worldwide missile ban was made in remarks to the Indonesian magazine Merdeka and intended to mark the first anniversary of Mr. Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech about the Pacific region.

The announcement was also designed for maximum effect in West Germany. In April, the Soviet Union insisted that the American warheads for West Germany's 72 short-range Pershing 1A missiles must be eliminated as part of a new agreement. Washington and Bonn have rejected the demand.

Mr. Gorbachev did not refer to this point, but the effect of his announcement was to put pressure on West Germany and the United States by isolating the West German missiles as the principal obstacle to a new treaty. The next day, Soviet officials struck at the West German missiles with a vengeance.

Already, signs of fissures have appeared in Chancellor Helmut Kohl's coalition. Reports from Bonn say Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and members of his Free Democratic Party, the junior member of the coalition, seem prepared to retreat.

A possible compromise, some officials have privately speculated, might include some form of assurance to Moscow that Bonn will not replace the aging Pershing 1A's with a successor missile. In any event, some American and German officials say the Soviet move to spotlight Bonn's missiles as weapons that run counter to the spirit of a new treaty will make it more difficult, if not impossible, for the West Germans to replace their old Pershings, even if replacements are not specifically prohibited.

American officials do not anticipate further Soviet concessions on the Pershing issue soon. They predict Mr. Gorbachev will prefer to give his public campaign against the missiles time to work.

The Nation

House Votes Insurance Against Catastrophic Ills

Few members of Congress would disagree with the assessment of Representative Claude Pepper, the 86-year-old Democrat from Florida who is the leading advocate on Capitol Hill of programs for the elderly. The measure that passed the House last week protecting 31 million elderly and disabled people against many costs of catastrophic illness, Mr. Pepper said, was "a historic first step." But, as the arguments before the 302-to-127 vote and the vote itself demonstrated, there remains disagreement about how great the step should be.

The House Democrats' plan is based on a proposal made by Dr. Otis R. Bowen, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, and eventually endorsed by President Reagan. But it expands the benefits contemplated by the Administration and introduces a new method of financing. Until now, Medicare has offered uniform benefits for uniform premiums; in the extension of Medicare to catastrophic illness coverage, beneficiaries with higher incomes would pay higher premiums. From the one side, critics of the House plan argued that it would impose a new tax on the elderly. They were also concerned about costs, particularly because of a new benefit: payment for 80 percent of the cost of outpatient prescription drugs after a \$500 deductible. From the other side, there was unhappiness that the bill did not provide more than 50 additional days of nursing home care, or greatly strengthen long-term provisions for home care. President Reagan's position is a difficult one. In his radio address yesterday, he lamented the differences between the House bill and his "responsible program"; earlier in the week, he threatened a veto. But that would be "the House equivalent of 'Make my day,'" as Representative Thomas S. Foley of Washington, a Democratic leader, pointed out. A possible compromise lies in removal of the drug provision. A Senate version contains no drug coverage.

Meatpacker Gets Record OSHA Fine

IBP Inc., the nation's largest meatpacking company, was accused last week of engaging in the worst case of poor record-keeping on record in matters of worker safety and health. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration proposed to fine the company a record \$2.59 million for "willfully failing" to record 1,038 job-related injuries and illnesses at a plant in Nebraska.

Officials at OSHA said the injuries and illnesses took place over a two-year period and included knife wounds, concussions, burns, hernias, fractures and carpal tunnel syndrome, which OSHA described as "a painful and crippling disease often caused by repetitive motion." Officials at IBP denied the charges. "We did not willfully violate OSHA's record-keeping requirements and we will not pay the proposed penalty," said Gary Mickelson, a spokesman.

The IBP fine was the second unusually large one proposed recently by OSHA. Earlier this month, the agency said it would fine the Chrysler Corporation \$1.37 million for health and safety violations including exposure of workers to toxic chemicals at a plant in Delaware.

Sessions: 'I'm Tough'

Texas Judge Picked for F.B.I.

AFTER a four-month search and a reported half-dozen refusals, Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d last week found for President Reagan a man who will accept nomination as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation: William S. Sessions, 57, chief judge of

the Federal District Court of the Western district of Texas. Apparently undeterred by the 10-year term, a potentially grueling confirmation process and the prospect of service under a possibly hostile Democratic chief executive, he said he was looking forward to the job.

If confirmed, Judge Sessions, a moderate Republican, would be the fifth director in the history of the 54-year-old law enforcement agency. His predecessor, William H. Webster, who became director of Central Intelligence in May, was nominated by President Carter. In conducting the search, Mr. Meese said, the Reagan Administration had sought an F.B.I. nominee similar to Mr. Webster, who had been an appeals court judge. "It's always easier to confirm a judge," said one Administration official last week.

Reaction from Capitol Hill was generally favorable. Judge Sessions, who served in the Justice Department in the Nixon Administration and who was appointed to the bench by President Ford, has a reputation for scrupulous fair-mindedness and for toughness, a characterization he does not dispute. "If I'm a West Texas tough guy," he said last week, "it's only because we've dealt with difficult problems out there: drugs and immigration problems are severe."



The New York Times/Paul Hefner
Judge William S. Sessions

Wedtech Scandal Brings Civil Suit

The widening net of the Wedtech scandal has so far brought criminal indictments to 19 people associated with Government favors for the South Bronx military contractor. Last week, it encompassed another kind of action, a civil suit for \$3.3 million, against E. Robert Wallach, a San Francisco lawyer and friend of Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d.

The suit, brought by the new management of the Wedtech Corporation, charges that Mr. Wallach tried to defraud the company by conspiring with five former executives to be paid for services he did not perform and then trying to cover up the scheme. Martin R. Pollner, Wedtech's court-appointed lawyer, said Mr. Wallach received at least \$1.25 million in stock and fees, 25 percent more than previously believed. Mr. Wallach issued a statement calling the charges unfounded.

Former executives of Wedtech have said they sought out Mr. Wallach because of his close ties to Mr. Meese. In 1982, Mr. Meese, then counselor to President Reagan, intervened with Army contractors on behalf of the then-obscure company after Mr. Wallach, the special prosecutor in the Wedtech case, is also looking into whether Mr. Meese illegally profited from his links to the company.

Wedtech declared bankruptcy late last year. Mr. Pollner said last week "tens of millions of dollars" were to the Government for unfulfilled contracts, which it cannot pay back.

Justice Blackmun Treated for Cancer

Justice Harry A. Blackmun of the Supreme Court is undergoing treatment for prostate cancer and has an "excellent" prognosis, the Mayo Clinic said last week. The clinic reported a "small and localized recurrence" of cancer that led to surgery 10 years ago. The clinic described the treatment as "not incapacitating," and a Court spokeswoman said Justice Blackmun was preparing for the next term.

Justice Blackmun, 78 years old, has often voted with the Court's liberal members in recent years. Meanwhile, in a preview of the September debate over the nomination of Judge Robert H. Bork to the Court, Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., Democrat of Delaware and chairman of the Judiciary Committee, differed sharply with Republicans over whether Mr. Bork's judicial philosophy should be an issue.

According to a New York Times/CBS Poll last week, most Americans believe that a nominee's views should be an important criterion in a confirmation vote. Sixty-two percent said the Senate should attach "a lot" of importance to the nominee's positions on major constitutional issues; 31 percent said it should give them little or no attention.

Caroline Rand Herron and Martha A. Miles

Senate Republicans Swallow Their Objections — for Now

Trade Bill's Fate in 'Yes, but' Hands



The New York Times/Paul Hefner
Clayton K. Yeutter (left), the United States trade representative, conferring with Republican Senators Bob Dole and Bob Packwood, before vote on trade bill.

By JONATHAN FUERBRINGER

WASHINGTON
WHEN 19 Republicans joined 52 Democrats in voting for the sweeping trade bill that passed the Senate last week, the Senate and House leadership was buoyed. The more than two-thirds majority, the Democrats said, was a strong rejection of President Reagan's renewed veto threats.

Their hopes may yet be dashed. While each of the 19 Republicans have many reasons for supporting the legislation — from politics and policy to special provisions for the home districts — 16 of them declared themselves as having cast "yes, but" ballots. "Yes," they think a bill that strengthens the country's trade laws is needed. "But," they have as many or more reasons for opposing the measure. And on the final roll call, the yeas could become nays.

"I don't like this bill," said Senator John H.

Chafee, one of the 16 "yes, but" voters, ticking off objections to such special interest proposals as a \$365 million import rebate for a handful of American sugar refiners and new import quotas on lamb. "But because these other issues are so important, I am willing to keep the process going until the last minute," the Rhode Island Republican said. That, he explained, is "when the bill comes out of conference" with the House in the fall. The House measure, passed in April, is even more objectionable to many Republicans.

Solid Republican opposition, Mr. Chafee added, might have led Democrats to shut out members of his party. "We want to be players in the conference negotiations," he said. "If 46 Republicans had voted no, the Democrats might have said 'to hell with them' and written the bill the way the A.F.L.-C.I.O. wants it written."

Other Republicans added that it would have been politically difficult to vote no at this point on the only trade bill of the year. Senator Bob Kasten of Wisconsin, another "yes, but" voter, has to

answer to troubled machine tool and foundry industries back home. His home-state shoe industry is also devastated and his dairy farmers are worried about inroads on their market by the use of foreign-imitation cheese on pizzas.

"My vote said that the status quo is not acceptable," Senator Kasten said. "To vote no against the only trade bill we have is irresponsible. We have to vote in favor of some kind of change."

But the main reason many of the 19 Republicans voted for the measure is because it would include giving the President a guarantee that trade agreements he negotiates will be quickly acted on by Congress and because it contains the threat of retaliation against trading partners, such as Japan, who will not open their markets.

It also should be remembered that most of the 19 have won special provisions aimed at helping their constituents, or satisfying a particular interest. A major bill of this sort, which after four grueling weeks of debate now totals more than 1,000 pages, always needs such sweeteners.

For Senator Frank Murkowski of Alaska, there was the repeal of the windfall profits tax on oil and an amendment aimed at getting Japan to give American contractors a significant opportunity to bid on work on the giant Kansas Airport there. For Senator Dan Nickles of Oklahoma, there was a resolution opposing beef quotas in South Korea. For Senator Charles E. Grassley of Iowa, there was an amendment that will help counter processed pork imports from Canada.

Pride of Authorship

For Senator David Karnes, who was appointed to the Senate from Nebraska in March, there were the first two legislative proposals he has worked on. Aside from the pride of authorship, both are important to Nebraska farmers. One would prevent the annual squeeze on farmers when money temporarily runs out for the Commodity Credit Corporation and payments are delayed. The other is aimed at promoting the use of wheat gluten, a grain byproduct.

But when he came to cast his vote, Mr. Karnes said, it was a close call. "On balance it was 50.5 to 49.5," he said. "Plant closings in and of itself almost made me vote no." His reference was to a provision requiring employers to give employees and local governments 60 days' notice of plant closings or mass layoffs.

Politics and the 1988 elections played both ways. Of the 15 Republicans up for reelection next year, only seven voted for the bill. Of the eight who opposed it, several did so solely because of the plant-closing provision, which is strongly opposed by business.

The leader of the "yes, but" Republicans, Senator John C. Danforth of Missouri, is still hopeful, however. He thinks that House and Senate Democrats want a trade bill the President can sign. As the United States trade representative Clayton K. Yeutter told Senate Republicans last week, that means that plant closings would have to be dropped. So would the House's controversial provision requiring retaliation against countries that persist in locking out American products. The Senate bill gives the President discretion to take minimal retaliatory steps.

The Danforth forecast? "There's better than a 50-50 chance we'll work something out."

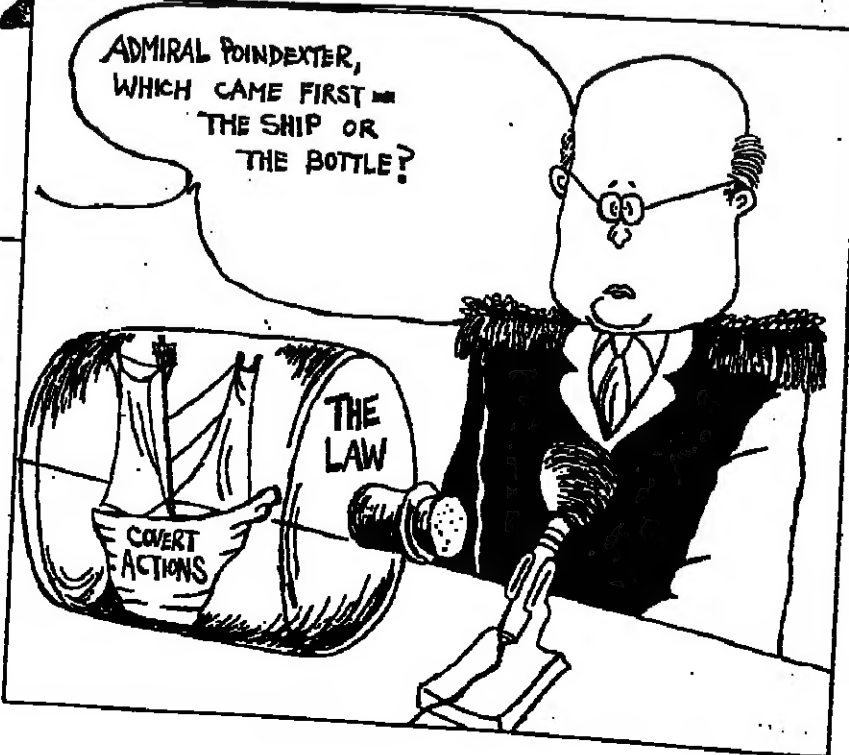
Views

A portfolio from around the nation

Steve Kelley
San Diego Union
Caption: New Yorker



Gene Basset
Atlanta Journal
United Media Group



Linda Boileau
Frankfort (Ky.) State Journal
Rohrer

FILM

007: A New Bond Meets the New Woman



John Rhys-Davies, as a Soviet general, is confronted by the pistol-wielding Bond in "The Living Daylights."



Maryam d'Abo as Kara Milovy—"not the typical all-sex, no-thought creature."

Timothy Dalton

By BENEDICT NIGHTINGALE

FOR TIMOTHY DALTON, James Bond is a fascinating paradox: a killer who loathes killing, a vulnerable and sensitive man-machine, an introverted extrovert, a cynical, principled, warm, and chivalrous lover doomed to reject the women who venture into his sexual force-field. But then Timothy Dalton is a bit of a paradox himself. He's a veteran of the Royal Shakespeare Company, and he's heir to the cliff-hanger kingdom of Sean Connery and Roger Moore. He's a serious actor, recently Antony to Vanessa Redgrave's Cleopatra, and he's the dashing new 007, complete with guns and fast cars and vodka martinis, "shaken not stirred."

What's more, he's somehow managed to become James Bond after refusing the role on no less than three occasions. In 1971, when he was 25, he was asked if he was interested in taking over from Sean Connery, who had decided it was time for fresh challenges; but he thought that would be "the most foolish move possible," given the likely hostility of a grieving public to his youth and presumption. Eight years ago, when Mr. Moore was pondering withdrawal, he was seriously sounded out again; but again he declined, this time because he felt un-

suited to the series' high-tech, fun-house style.

The third offer came in spring 1986, when Mr. Dalton was committed to a Shakespearean season in London's West End. But the producers kept failing to find the new Bond hero, and so kept postponing the starting date of the new Bond movie, "The Living Daylights." Suddenly they realized that so much time had passed that they might as well ask Mr. Dalton to reconsider his refusal and start shooting in the fall instead of the summer; and at long last his answer was yes. Between his last night as Petruchio in "The Taming of the Shrew" and his first day before the cameras as Bond, he was, even able to fit in the movie "Brenda Starr," in which Brooke Shields plays the woman reporter and Mr. Dalton "an Englishman living in the depths of the Amazonian jungle breeding black orchids without whose juice he'd go insane."

"The Living Daylights" opens in New York next Friday, an important date for Mr. Dalton, who is well aware of the fate of George Lazenby, the actor who did take over Bond from Sean Connery and played the role once only. "If I fail," he says wryly, "it will be a world-famous failure." But the movie is doing well in London, and Mr. Dalton himself seems relaxed as he discusses it. He's a tall, rangy man with gray-green eyes, a cleft chin, and what look surprisingly like dimples, intermittently linked by a big, friendly grin. He laughs often and freely, yet isn't afraid of talking earnestly and energetically about becoming and being James Bond: "If you're to do your work as an actor, you've got to think seriously about it, even if you're in

the lightest comedy or thriller."

Though his father was in advertising, his paternal grandfather was very much a man of the stage, a vaudeville performer who became an agent and ended up running a chain of variety-show houses. But Mr. Dalton himself didn't actually see a straight play until he was 16, when a touring "Macbeth" came to a theater near to the family's Derbyshire home. After an entertainment diet that until then had consisted mainly of Saturday-morning movies, he was exhilarated by the experience of seeing "real people creating an extraordinary, magic world while they were in a room with you." When he left school two years later, he knew that he wanted to do precisely that himself.

He joined the Amateur National Youth Theater in London, beginning his career by playing a serving-man in "Coriolanus." Then it was off to Royal Academy of Dramatic Art and, before he'd finished his course there, to the prestigious Birmingham Rep. In 1966, his very first year as a professional, he played Oliver in an "As You Like It" that transferred to the West End, and in the same year was featured in a television series and appeared as the King of France in the film "The Lion in Winter," alongside Katharine Hepburn and Peter O'Toole.

The pace hasn't often slackened since. On the big screen, he's been Heathcliff in "Wuthering Heights" and Darnley in "Mary Queen of Scots." He's been Mr. Rochester in a highly-regarded television version of "Jane Eyre." On the London stage, he's been Henry V, Prince Hal, Romeo and Berowne in "Love's Labor's Lost," the last two for the

Royal Shakespeare Company. When the company opened its new Barbican Theater with a massive production of both parts of "Henry IV" in 1982, he was lured back to play that James Bond of the medieval shires, the bold and virile Hotspur.

Mr. Dalton is a conscientious, careful actor who does a great deal of hard work on a role before going before the cameras and allowing the intellectual and imaginative results to come flooding instinctively out of him. Before playing a pioneer of surgery in the movie "The Doctor and the Devils," for instance, he attended several operations and even an autopsy, "one of the most shocking and gruesome experiences I've had." So

when he began to prepare seriously for the part of Bond, his first action was to read all of Ian Fleming's original work, including the short story "The Living Daylights," on which the new movie is based:

"I felt it would be wrong to pluck the character out of thin air, or to base him on any of my predecessors' interpretations," Mr. Dalton says. "Instead, I went to the man who created him, and I was astonished. I'd read a couple of the books years ago, and I thought I'd find them trivial now, but I thoroughly enjoyed every one. It's not just that they're a terrific sense of adventure and you get very involved. On those pages I discovered a Bond I'd never seen on the screen, a

quite extraordinary man, a man I really wanted to play, a man of contradictions and opposites.

"He can be ruthless and determined, yet we're constantly shown what a serious, intelligent, thinking, feeling human being he is. He's a man of principle too, almost an idealist, but one who sees that he's living in a world without principle, in which ideals are cheaply bought and sold. He's a man who wants human contact; the need for love seems to overflow from him. Yet he can't afford emotional involvement, he can't fall in love or marry or have children, because that would prevent him functioning in a world where the possibility of his death is ever-present.

Maryam d'Abo

By STEVE ONEY

SEATED ON THE OUT door patio of the Ivy, an intimate West Hollywood restaurant, Maryam d'Abo does not look like the sort of woman who carries a telescopic rifle in a cello case. Tossled blonde hair pulled back to reveal exotic, elfin features, a denim jacket draped casually over her shoulders, a scarred silver bracelet on one wrist and two watches on the other, she seems the handiwork of Vladimir Nabokov, not Ian Fleming. And that is exactly how the producers of "The Living Daylights," the latest installment in the continuing adventures of Agent 007, would have you see her. Meet the new and decidedly different James Bond woman.

"Unlike many of the earlier Bond girls, my character is a real human being," Ms. d'Abo says earnestly, her English softened by the trace of a French accent. "She's not the typical all-sex, no-thought creature everyone always expects."

Indeed, of all the stock characters in modern film, perhaps none has become more deeply ingrained in the popular consciousness than the Bond woman. Usually lethal, sometimes bimboic, almost always bikinied, she has, over 25 years and through 14 Cubby Broccoli-produced movies, come to represent the siren singing on the rocks of contemporary male fantasy. If James Bond couldn't se-

duce Pussy Galore (Honor Blackman in "Goldfinger," 1964), Tiffany Case (Jill St. John in "Diamonds Are Forever," 1970), or Holly Goodhead (Lois Chiles in "Moonraker," 1979) — to name only three — he would die trying.

But in the role of Kara Milovy, a Czechoslovak cellist who first catches 007's roving eye when he disobeys an order to assassinate her at a Bratislava concert hall, Ms. d'Abo has little in common with the bombshells of the Bondian past. Not only does the heroine of "The Living Daylights" possess a kind of fragile beauty never before seen in a Bond woman but her character's artistic ambitions suggest a depth her predecessors have lacked. A serious musician whose greatest dream is to perform on the stage of the Vienna Opera House, Kara is lured into the world of spy-versus-spy intrigue not by creed or lust but by a too-trusting nature. And while she does end up toting a gun instead of her instrument, she manages to retain her innocence. She is, in short, just the woman for the more sober Bond interpreted by the latest British actor to portray Her Majesty's most dashing spy: Timothy Dalton.

On this warm mid-July evening, Ms. d'Abo has just arrived in the United States after a grueling 12-hour flight from London. She is exhausted and ravenous (she quickly goes through two orders of crabcakes and a pasta in clam sauce entree), and she paces herself by nervously smoking Philip Morris cigarettes. For the last two weeks she has been on the road in Europe promoting the new picture; she will spend the rest of the month doing the same in North America. At the age of 26, she is experiencing for the first time what it is like to be a movie star.

"It all seems rather fantastic," she

says. "I'm not quite certain what time zone I'm in."

A professional actress for only four years, Ms. d'Abo heretofore appeared primarily on stage in France (most notably as Roxanne in a Parisian production of "Cyrano de Bergerac," in a few small-budget European films and as "the girl who bites the apple" in English television commercials for Menthadent P toothpaste. In America, she has been even more obscure. Her best work in this country was done in an aborted NBC pilot about O.S.S. agents titled "Behind the Enemy Lines." With such small roles to her credit, the actress hardly seemed marked for quick success, but two very different pieces of good luck conspired to change all that almost overnight.

In late 1985, Barbara Broccoli, daughter of Cubby and herself an associate producer, called Ms. d'Abo and asked her to do a reading for a film. At the time, Ms. Broccoli wasn't really interested in the actress. She merely wanted her to feed lines to an actor auditioning for the part eventually won by Mr. Dalton. Yet things went very well for Ms. d'Abo at the session. "It was a great day, and I liked them all enormously," the actress recalls.

Soon after the audition, Ms. d'Abo traveled to Munich to begin shooting a film that was never completed — "Laughter in the Dark." She was slated to play the female lead opposite Maximilian Schell and Mick Jagger. But after only a month's work, the project was shelved when Mr. Jagger backed out and financing fell through. The film's editors, however, spliced together a tape of what the cast had managed to complete. It was that demo and Ms. Broccoli's positive first impression that came together later in 1986 to create Ms. d'Abo's big break.

Stating the Capitals

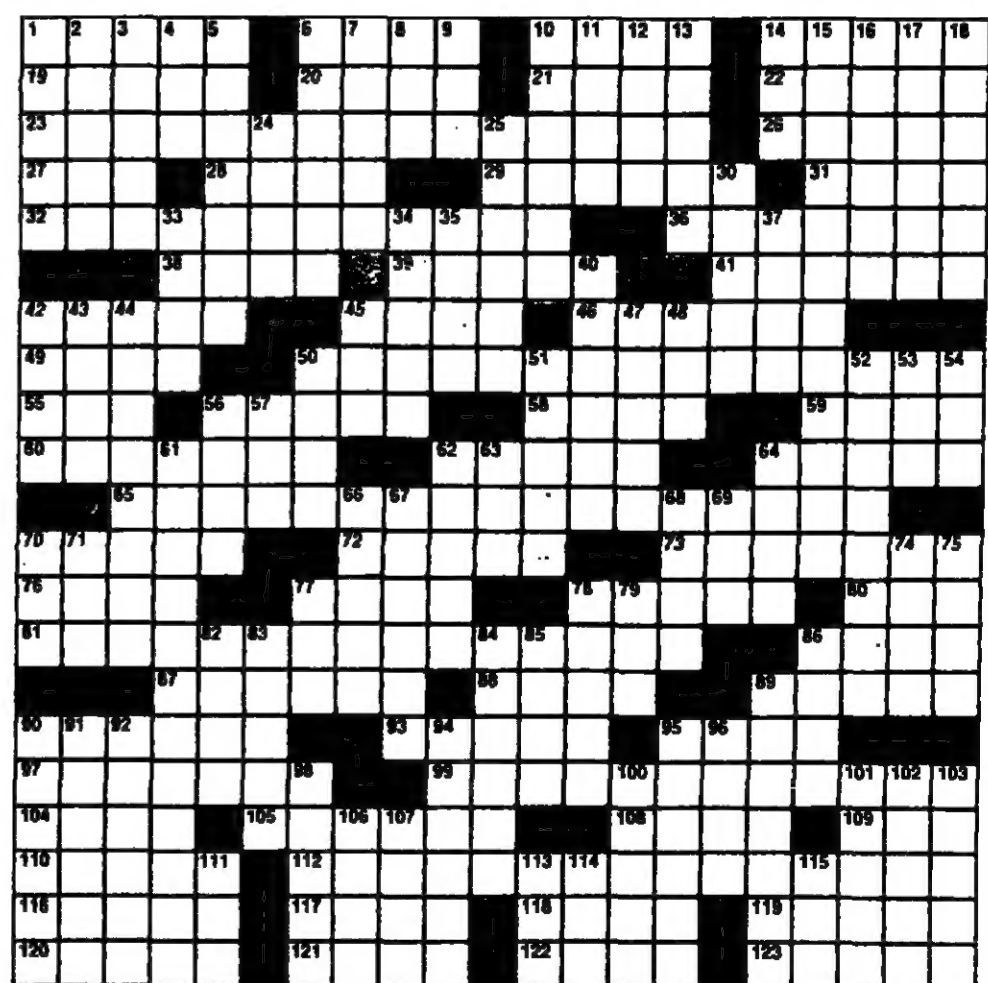
BY CHARLES M. DEBER/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Maleska

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ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

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 RESTORES BEAL STALE
 VIER SEPTIS DASE
 DOBIE DANC ARTANUS
 AWONE GALATINPOOL MAE
 LASH SOLO YACD EFTYS
 ART GACATINPOOL CLUES
 SEBASTIUS BUAL THAMAS
 BEBDS GROUND SHADO
 PTMES GINS SHINDIC
 SHUYS BOCATINATE DIF
 ALOE DARY ROSE YUPA
 GEM BURCHTHOUD CELTS
 ADONALB AUSTR MRRASW
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The Smoking Cannon

Secretary of State Shultz put a critical piece of a still-incomplete Iran-contra puzzle into place last week. "I don't know where anybody got that idea," he said, "that the President just sits around not paying attention."

"He's a very strong and decisive person," Mr. Shultz explained. Ordinarily this would be an unremarkable thing to say about a President, but Ronald Reagan has been portrayed as a laid-back, often disengaged manager.

The Tower Commission painted just such a picture and went on to fault his high subordinates as well for failing to take up the slack. The commission found no smoking gun or conclusive evidence that Mr. Reagan was aware of aid being sent to the Nicaraguan rebels in violation of the law or the diversion of funds from the sale of arms to Iran.

The Congressional investigating committees resumed the search for this specific evidence. But what they have found has not been a smoking gun but a smoking cannon. This cannon shows just how personally and firmly Ronald Reagan set the course the United States followed: He insisted on supporting the Nicaraguan rebels, though Congress banned it. He insisted on selling arms to Iran in return for the release of American hostages, though he had wisely vowed never to bargain with terrorists. Whatever else remains to be discovered, this cannon represents not evidence of a crime but of his leadership, confused and flawed and determined.

Domestic and foreign policies essentially have marched where Mr. Reagan wanted them to go for six years. That powerful fact often seems forgotten in the wake of the current policy disaster. It's also indisputable that he commanded extraordinary loyalty from his subordinates. Even now, they continue to speak of him with respect. Not Mr. Shultz, or Rear Adm. John Poindexter, the former national security adviser, or Lieut. Col. Oliver North, his aide, have uttered one bad word about their leader during days of testimony.

But none served him well enough to say no. Mr. Shultz and Secretary of Defense Weinberger argued with him about swapping arms for hostages, but neither felt the impending disaster warranted their resignations. As for Admiral Poindexter and Colonel North, they seemed to have shared the President's goals so zealously that they could only say yes, yes.

William Casey, the former Director of Central Intelligence, played perhaps a still more decisive role. Before his recent death, he could guide the imaginative colonel and the bureaucratic admiral through the alleys of clandestine operations. When necessary, it seems, Mr. Casey was not above creating intelligence information to fit the policy. Mr. Shultz testified, for example, that contrary to the facts, the C.I.A. told the President at a crucial juncture that Iran had lessened its terrorist activities. The Director, the admiral, the colonel and others set off a bombardment of lies and deceptions — touching Congress, their own executive branch colleagues, the President and even one another. Their conflicting testimonies and destruction of evidence make it impossible to reconstruct events with confidence. Significantly, the President has never condemned them outright for these actions.

Would accurate information have altered the President's course? Mr. Shultz told of an early White House meeting to discuss the Iran initiative. He and Mr. Weinberger opposed the fantastic scheme. According to Mr. Shultz, the President responded that "the American people will never forgive me if I fail to get these hostages out." President Reagan left no doubt about his goals: He demanded action to free the hostages and support the contras. Whether or not he knew the details, his aides followed his lead and did the rest.

Credit and Credibility in Science

After a steady trickle of fraud in academic science, there now comes a serious case of misrepresented data. Charles J. Glueck, of the University of Cincinnati, reported that children can effectively be fed a low-cholesterol diet to prevent heart disease. But the prescription may be false: a university committee found that the study was based on data that "barely existed." This month Dr. Glueck resigned.

Why would any scientist, committed to learning the truth about nature, even contemplate publishing unsupported results? Because the more articles a researcher publishes, the better his chances for Federal grants, university jobs and academic honors. Perhaps that's why two of Dr. Glueck's co-authors, though aware of problems with the results, left their names on the study.

But why take the risk of publishing half-truths when scientific data are rigorously checked before and after publication? Because the checks are really not so rigorous. Few are caught by the standard checking mechanisms of science, which are prepublication review and attempts by others to replicate published results. Reviewers of a manuscript can rarely tell if data are real or imaginary. Failure to replicate a scientist's claim is seldom grounds to accuse him of cheating since there are many reasons for an experiment to turn out differently on repetition. Most known fabrications come to light, as in Dr. Glueck's case, because of insiders who blow the whistle.

The credibility of science depends on the as-

sumption that claims are rigorously checked. Why, then, are scientific leaders content to let their quality control system rest so heavily on the freelance efforts of whistle blowers? Gresham's law, that bad money drives out good, may offer an insight. Published articles being the coin of credit, why make it unduly hard to mint them? Everything is arranged to make scientific publication easy. Journals proliferate so that few articles, however bad, cannot get published somewhere.

Scientists pay "page charges" to be published, as for vanity presses, but neither the page charges nor the subsidies to the libraries that buy the journals exert restraint on publication because both come from public funds. Senior researchers, assigned control over Federal grants, find it easy to multiply their authorships by adding their name to the work of the juniors. Dr. Glueck, a heavy publisher, is the author of 379 scientific papers. With many scientists interested in the sheer quantity of publications, who is going to spoil their colleagues' game and fuss about quality?

Fraudulent or misrepresented articles signal the debasement of the general coinage. Police methods to root out fraud would retard science and be wholly inappropriate. Steps to improve the general quality of scientific literature — like reducing pressures to publish and checking that reported data indeed exist — would speed recognition of true advances and could enhance the efficiency of public spending on science.

Moscow Pokes at Multispeak

Mikhail Gorbachev seems not to be above a light and mischievous touch in his new diplomacy. In this case, the target was the well-known phenomenon of Reagan Administration multispeak.

A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman recently briefed reporters on an exchange of letters between Mr. Gorbachev and President Reagan concerning tension in the Persian Gulf. Mr. Reagan, he noted, had rejected the notion of the two countries' cooperating on this problem. Yet, added the spokesman (and presumably Mr. Gorbachev's letter), "some statements by the U.S. Administration would also have us believe that the American side has an interest in looking into Soviet proposals concerning the Persian Gulf."

What a masterly poke, just as everyone wonders who does speak for the White House. Is the real voice Howard Baker, the White House chief of staff, who embraced the idea of cooperating with Moscow in the gulf? Or should Moscow heed White House and State Department spokesmen who beat a hasty retreat from the idea?

Whoever spoke or wrote the gibe, some think they know who thought of it: Anatoly Dobrynin, former Soviet Ambassador to Washington, now a chief foreign policy adviser to Mr. Gorbachev. Mr. Dobrynin, it has been said, knows how American administrations work only too well.

Private Nukes?

It seems as if private initiative in Pakistan extends even to securing materials for, and producing, nuclear bombs. That at least is what Pakistan would have the U.S. believe, in the latest and most creative of a string of alibis designed to render palatable a decade-old addiction to secret nuclear pursuits.

What occasioned this explanation is the arrest of a Pakistani-born businessman in Philadelphia for trying to smuggle out a steel alloy used in making nuclear weapons. U.S. officials, eager to do what they could even in the face of the arrest to maintain aid to a crucial ally, urged cau-

Topics of The Times

tion. Let's see what Pakistan says, they insisted. Well, here's what Pakistan says: Yes, some Pakistanis do seem to have been involved in attempting to smuggle a weapons-grade steel alloy. But the Government had nothing to do with them. This was strictly a rogue operation, and the men must be punished.

The idea that a few men could privately have been winging so massively complex and costly an undertaking would be horrifying if it weren't so implausible.

Pakistan does indeed seem to have difficulty controlling its native-born nuclear wizard, Dr. A. Q. Khan. He periodically utters boasts about Pakistan's advanced nuclear capabilities — at which point President Zia, with a nervous eye toward U.S. aid, hastens to hush him up. Yet the bomb-building seems to go on and on, and so does U.S. aid.

Faith in Newark

Any number of New Jersey communities would covet a state center for the performing arts. Governor Kean's endorsement of downtown Newark as the site for the \$200 million project therefore makes a strong statement. It demonstrates faith in a city more accustomed to cynicism, hope for a community more familiar with despair.

With a total of 8,000 seats in five buildings, the Newark center would be the largest such facility in the nation after New York's Lincoln Center. Construction is contingent on a 50-50 public-private financing scheme. But the Governor expressed confidence that businesses and philanthropies would come up with the private share, and he pledged to put his own considerable popularity on the line with the Legislature to secure public money.

Over the last 25 years Newark has seen the decline of its middle class and the institutions it supports. Investment has grown recently, but mainly in areas like business construction, housing and infrastructure. The state arts center represents a different kind of investment — in Newark as a place to cultivate life's pleasures as well as pursue its necessities. Mr. Kean wisely understands that both kinds of development are vital to a viable city.

Letters

Under International Law, Reflagging Doesn't Fly

To the Editor:

The Reagan Administration plan to reflag Kuwaiti vessels temporarily in order to extend a United States military presence and the "defensive" use of force in the Persian Gulf is not only highly dangerous, but also violates international law.

Article 5 of the 1958 Geneva Convention on the High Seas requires that there be a "genuine link" between the flag state and vessel. Transfer of title "temporarily" to a United States holding company patently demonstrates that there is no real or "genuine" link between the Kuwaiti vessels and the United States, but an attempted subterfuge of international law.

The genuine-link requirement has sometimes been relaxed for economic reasons (e.g., to avoid taxes, labor regulations and state responsibility of the flag state for injuries to crew and to other vessels, all of which follow the flag). But such a requirement has never been stretched so thin as to permit "temporary" cellophane flags for extension of the use of force. If the vessels or cargo are not subject to taxation, not only will taxpayers suffer, but also the lack of a genuine link will be all the more obvious.

As for recent claims for the use of "pre-emptive" force against Iranian defensive weapons and military installations, such a use of force would be impermissible under the United Nations Charter, article 51, which allows defensive force in the case of an armed attack. Further, it is ridiculous to suggest that foreign ships can attack coastal defense weapons or installations that threaten such ships. The United States, for example, has a right to place defensive weapons near its shores. Such an argument would place self-defense on its head.

It is also of interest that President Reagan has already recognized that attacks on neutral shipping "that was vital to Iran's economy" can be permissible because, as he said May 31, 1984, in a London economic conference interview, "in times of war the enemy's commerce and trade is a fair target." In the context of the Iran-Iraq war, such shipping can be viewed also as noninnocent passage and non-neutral behavior, especially the military escort of such shipping to and from one of the countries at war. This makes the reflagging and United States escorting all the more dangerous, if not, in the President's words, "a fair target."

It may even be the intent of the Administration not merely to subject United States Navy vessels to the targeting that will surely follow, but also to set up an attack on Iran to injure Iranian military capabilities for alleged plans to sweep over Iraq and obtain control of oil pipelines, refineries and facilities. It may also be part of a ploy, in these weeks and months of investigations of the Iran-contra affair, to injure Iran on other matters. In either case, the use of force would be impermissible under the United Nations Charter.

JORDAN J. PAUST
Houston, July 16, 1987
The writer, professor of law at the University of Houston, is a member of the Independent Commission on Respect for International Law.

Embargo Oil, Not Arms

To the Editor:

The United Nations Security Council has called for a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war (front page, July 21). Although the decision is binding under the United Nations Charter, Iran says it will defy the order. That emphasizes the importance of measures to enforce the decision. Attention has centered on an arms embargo. Such an embargo seems difficult to get agreement on and would be difficult to enforce.

Consideration should be given a different kind of embargo — a cessation of oil imports from whichever of the two Middle East combatants does not carry out the Security Council's call to stop fighting. Characteristically, embargoes are hard to make effective. An embargo on oil imports from the offending party offers advantages that might make it effective in current circumstances.

Assuming that Iran would be the target of such an embargo, it is especially vulnerable to the measure. It is

highly dependent on the foreign exchange it earns from the sale of oil to finance the war with Iraq. Cutting off that source of foreign exchange might bring it to its knees.

An embargo on imports from a country has an advantage over an embargo on exports to a country. While everybody wants to sell, and there are thus powerful incentives to try to evade a prohibition on doing so, buyers may be minimally inconvenienced because they can meet their needs from other suppliers. Oil is plentifully supplied worldwide, and it should not be difficult for any importer to meet its oil requirements from other suppliers.

The idea of an arms embargo in this case seems to meet resistance from countries, China principally, that are reluctant to forgo the profits and other advantages of arms sales to the combatants. No such obstruction would interfere with agreement on an oil-import embargo.

Finally, such an embargo might prove enforceable because of the interest other oil suppliers would have in current market circumstances in filling the gap created by the enforced withdrawal of either or both of the Middle East combatants from its role as a supplier. All together, an embargo on oil imports seems a much more promising measure than the embargo on exports of arms being considered.

LAWRENCE S. FINKELSTEIN
Professor of Political Science
Northern Illinois University
DeKalb, Ill., July 21, 1987

We Are Vulnerable

To the Editor:

When the tanker Peconic was fired upon in the Persian Gulf this month, Administration spokesmen noted that the Peconic, while American-owned, sails under the Liberian flag (news story, July 10). There was, to my



mind, a clear implication that such vessels are not important to the national interest.

The Administration is misinformed. The Peconic is owned by a company controlled by D. K. Ludwig, one of this country's leading industrialists. There are many such ships, assets of American or American-controlled companies that are significant contributors to our economy. If the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini wants to embarrass the United States in the Persian Gulf, he can harass ships like the Peconic, which are economically important to us, and ignore the escorted Kuwaiti tankers, which are not.

Unfortunately, determining which foreign-flag ships are important to the United States is simple. The relevant books and periodicals are available all over the world, and it would be foolish to think that this is not known in Iran. Perhaps the attack on the Peconic was not the random event it was assumed to be.

I sincerely hope that the Administration has a reasonable and restrained plan for dealing with this scenario.

SYDNEY P. LEVINE
Shipping Intelligence Inc.
New York, July 20, 1987

The Panay Incident

To the Editor:

The attack on the United States frigate Stark, the explanation of her duties in the Persian Gulf and the reaction in Washington to what should be done diplomatically and in our naval presence there made me feel we were repeating history — and

not heeding it very much. It brought to mind the Panay incident, when the United States gunboat Panay was bombed, strafed and sunk some 200 miles up the Yangtze River by Japanese naval aircraft in December 1937. It nearly caused a declaration of war.

The Panay was one of the gunboats and overage destroyers assigned to the Yangtze patrol of the United States Asiatic Fleet. Their duty was to protect United States citizens, shipping and interests along the Yangtze under treaty rights dating from before the Boxer Rebellion.

In December 1937, with Japan and China at war, the invading Japanese were closing in on the major river city of Nanking. The Panay took on board United States and foreign officials, businessmen and correspondents — including The New York Times's Norman Soong and the Italian correspondent Luigi Barzini. Panay moved upriver a few miles to ride out the capture of Nanking and the sack and violence that was anticipated — and which took place.

Panay was far from any support from other units of the Asiatic Fleet or the Yangtze patrol. The Japanese had warned she should not be in the middle of an active war area. The war was already rich with Japanese harassment of Westerners. Panay's refusal to clear out was widely known. Several United States flags — including one that measured 26 feet by 32 feet — were stretched horizontally across the gunboat to identify it to aircraft. The crew was alerted for defense. Oil ships were involved, too — several river tankers owned by Standard Oil, which had anchored near Panay for protection.

On the afternoon of Dec. 12, in good visibility and with Panay clearly marked, Japanese planes attacked and sank the ship. Later, the pilots reported that they had been flying too high to see the American flag; it was a case of mistaken identity.

Panay's crew did not go to general quarters until the first bomb struck. The planes had been sighted, identified and seemed headed elsewhere — when suddenly they dived. Panay was heavily enough armed for river duties, but her antiaircraft defense was only eight antiquated World War 1 .30-caliber Lewis machine guns. Panay was badly hit. About two hours after the first bomb fell, Panay rolled on her side and went down. One sailor was killed. Others were wounded, including the executive officer, Lieut. Arthur Anders, later the father of the astronaut William Anders. The survivors took refuge ashore.

Norman Alley, who helped me with a book about Panay, was then a top cameraman for Universal Newsreel. He had been on board and filmed the attack. He was hurried out of China by the Navy with 5,000 feet of film and rushed home by destroyer and China Clipper to have it developed.

One of the first people to see the film when it came from the lab (and the sponsor of the high-priority trip back to the United States) was President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The film showed Japanese planes strafing the ship from masthead height, proving the Japanese story of flying too high to identify Panay was false. Later information proved the Japanese had planned the attack to find out how far they could push the United States, short of war. The officer who ordered the attack, Col. Kingoro Hashimoto, was never censured — indeed, he was decorated for his role just 49 days after Pearl Harbor. (He was later tried as a war criminal and sentenced to life in prison.)

Norman Alley told me that Roosevelt asked that the incriminating segment of film, showing the Japanese planes so low you could see the pilots' faces, be withheld from the newsreels. Universal agreed. Roosevelt apparently wanted to give Japan an out. Apologies were made; indemnities were paid. That was that.

The United States refused to withdraw the gunboats from the Yangtze, although it had been proved they could not defend themselves against Japanese planes. They were exposed to other incidents. And there were a number. But the Japanese war advocates in the military backed off. They were not yet ready for war. We were lucky — then. HAMILTON DARBY PERRY
New York, July 6, 1987

Prosecute Unstable Owners Who Abuse Pit Bulls

To the Editor:

Dangerous pit bulls? My dog is friendly, loving, intelligent, obedient and affectionate. Showered with love since puppyhood, she shows only affection for everyone. Her mother and 12 brothers and sisters (each with a hand-picked responsible owner) are all sweet, good-natured dogs that anyone would trust and be proud to own.

She is fortunate in not being one of the abused victims among her breed. Yes, these maligned pit bulls are as much victims as the people they attack. Purposely inbred, starved, fed on gunpowder and blood, whipped and encouraged in constant fights to the death — many pit bulls are understandably made crazy by the unstable owners who abuse them. Any animal (or human) would become dangerous after exposure to this kind of treatment.

Unfortunately, the pit bull seems to be the fashionable dog of drug dealers, gang youths and other sadistic, sociopathic halfwits. This

week it's the pit bull; last week it was the Doberman pinscher; next week maybe the German shepherd or the Rottweiler. It's not the fault of the breed, which when bred and treated properly, is not dangerous. A well-adjusted pit bull will not go crazy and attack a person for no apparent reason any more than any other dog would.

Prosecute the irresponsible people who are abusing these dogs. But don't punish the entire breed and people like me (who love and care for their dogs) for the sins of that psychotic minority and the mass hysteria produced by the latest fad in alarmist journalism.

MIMI REGELSON
Richmond, July 17, 1987

Submarine Ball

To the Editor:

Your front-page article on Russian baseball, citing Soviet claims of having invented the game (July 20), mentioned a "Japanese sidearm pitch called a submarine." Another case of Japan exporting technology not of its own creation to the Soviet Union?

The foremost American proponent of the submarine ball was Eldon Auker, a 1930's Detroit Tigers pitcher. The most successful recent practitioner is Kent Tekulve, though his pitch is more sidearm than Auker's nearly underhand. The Japanese may have made an excellent copy, but this pitch is a product of American ingenuity.

BRUCE R. PARKER
Stanford, Calif., July 20, 1987



The New York Times Company

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Mideast Peace Talks May Mean War

By Moshe Arens

An international conference on the Middle East with Soviet participation, widely touted as the only avenue to peace between Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians, is an ill-conceived idea. It cannot provide the proper framework and pressure-free atmosphere needed to resolve what is not merely a question of territory and borders but of Israel's very existence. It can only severely harm Israel and increase Soviet power and prestige in the Middle East.

Until recently, there was a consensus in Israel and America that direct talks between the parties to the conflict constituted the only desirable format for peace negotiations. It is not only a reasonable, unimpeachable position but one of particular pertinence in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Direct talks, implying recognition, would remove a main obstacle to peace: Arab refusal to recognize Israel's right to exist. The principle proved itself in the case of Egypt.

Now we are told that Jordan — weaker, smaller and more vulnerable to Palestinian and radical threats — needs the protection of an international umbrella to enter such talks, and has therefore conditioned its participation on Israel's acquiescence to an international conference, a format first proposed — lest we forget — by the Soviet Union and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

But no matter what promises Jordan has made privately to the United States and Israel, to suppose that a country that dares not defy radical regimes and Palestinian terrorists on matters of procedure will defy them on matters of substance is to mock common sense.

It is even more absurd to contend that the Soviet Union, beguiled by the international conference idea, would consent to accept a purely ceremonial role and serve as a rubber stamp for decisions made by the parties to the dispute. On the contrary, it

Moshe Arens, a member of the Likud Party, is Minister Without Portfolio in the Israeli Government.



Daniel Auer

would insist on playing an active role — and would not be alone in doing so. Every putative participant, including America, has declared that it would present its own ideas for a solution.

They all eschew an "imposed" settlement — a rather empty concession, since no such imposition can be forced on Israel under present circumstances — but they all assume that conference pressure exerted on

Israel would be isolated.

Israel to withdraw to the 1949 armistice line would prove irresistible, despite the official opposition to such withdrawal by all of Israel's major political parties.

It is not a baseless assumption. Israel would be isolated at such a conference. The unanimity among participants for virtually total Israeli withdrawal would be complete. The only difference between the American and Soviet positions is on

whether Judea and Samaria should become an independent P.L.O. state or a "Palestinian homeland" federated with Jordan — an ultimately meaningless difference, since there is no way to control who would rule the area once Israel relinquished control.

There is, however, a world of a difference between America's right to a role of "honest broker" and that of the Soviet Union. The United States has kept on good terms with both sides. It has successfully concluded interim agreements between Israel and Egypt, Israel and Syria and, of course, the Israel-Egypt peace treaty — all in the 1970's.

The Soviet Union has refused to restore diplomatic relations with Israel, which it severed 20 years ago; it supports terrorist organizations, arms radical Libya and Syria to the teeth, regularly votes to expel Israel from the United Nations and, in violation of international agreements, prevents free Jewish emigration. It recently sponsored reunification of the P.L.O. on a platform calling for continued terrorism and the dismantling of Israel. And now, having secured Israel's agreement to a Soviet consular mission in Tel Aviv, it refuses to reciprocate by allowing a similar Israeli delegation into the Soviet Union. Clearly, the Soviet Union's changes in style have brought no concomitant

changes in substance in its Middle East policies.

Advocates of the international conference assure us that a condition for Soviet participation would be full Soviet restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel and free Jewish emigration. But once the wheels of the international conference started turning, would the world — and Israel — possess the perseverance to wait until the Soviet ambassador presented his credentials in Jerusalem? Until 400,000 Jews were granted exit visas? Until a flow of 50,000 emigrants a year was established?

If not, Soviet leverage at the conference would be unmatchable: By linking Jewish emigration and diplomatic relations to Israeli concessions at the talks, Moscow would make Israel's position untenable.

We are assured that if the major powers insisted on interfering in bilateral Israel-Jordan negotiations, Israel would be free to walk out. But it is inconceivable that Israel could, with impunity, bolt a conference it has so adamantly pushed for. The momentum of worldwide expectations, the universal hope for a breakthrough and the pressure of public opinion generated by such a conference could not be cavalierly dismissed: If Israel walked out, it would be branded a rejecter of peace.

The rush to an international conference is a classic example of the erosion of will in a democracy in the face of external pressures and promises, and internal impatience and fatigue. What Israelis who pursue it want is massive international pressure to cover their own acquiescence in a solution they previously deemed life-threatening. It is a solution most Israelis consider not a formula for peace but a prescription for war.

ON MY MIND | A. M. Rosenthal

Change of Heart

The lives of millions of people in Asia, the Pacific and Latin America have been touched, deeply and for the better, by a turnaround in American foreign policy.

"Foreign policy" is just shorthand for how a country sees the world and acts to achieve what it sees as its basic interests. So when there is a real turn in the foreign policy of a major power it is obviously a matter of moment. But this change has gone relatively unnoticed in the United States, overwhelmed by the Iran-contra trauma. Just the same, it is likely to be the material of history books when people are saying Admiral Who and Colonel What'sname.

For almost four decades, the U.S. could almost always be counted on to give its support to military dictatorships or right-wing civilian tyrannies.

Part of the reason was a fear of Communism — often no paranoid mirage. But time after time the U.S. ignored or shunned the democratic center. It did not so much overestimate Communist strength as fatally minimize the desire of the people of a country to rule themselves in freedom.

And many of our diplomats and military people found it easier to get along with generals who made themselves presidents than presidents who were elected and had to deal with time-wasting pesky democratic procedures. One of the tragedies of modern American history is that a country that believes in political democracy for itself, and once was seen as its very fountainhead, became associated around the world with support of tyranny.

Just 18 months ago, on a trip to Asia, I visited three dictatorships — South Korea, the Philippines and Indonesia. The saddest part of the trip to me was that people I met took it for granted that my country would support the tyrants against those fighting for the political freedoms the United States was supposed to embody.

Time and again they had seen American governments preach freedom and support tyrannies, and seen American citizens accept it.

There is a change. The United States Government no longer extends that automatic support.

What's more, the expectation is growing abroad that the United States will probably use its influence against the tyrants in time of crisis, not for them.

In the Philippines, the U.S. finally got around to understanding that Ferdi-

nand Marcos had to go. In South Korea, Washington told the generals who have ruled for a quarter of a century that we will not be at all happy if they use arms to put down the revolution for political freedoms. Eighteen months ago in Seoul, I was ashamed of American policy toward South Korea; last week in Seoul I was encouraged by it.

In Panama, we are trying to say goodbye forever to a strange general we once hung with medals. In Haiti, and in a half-dozen countries in Latin America, we have removed our support from dictators or the coup-minded military.

What happened? For one, the Philippine street revolution turned out to have wings, as did the American and French in their time.

Corazon Aquino happened, to help it fly. If she had not been there to channel the desires and anger of the people into a democratic explosion, Mr. Marcos would have lingered on. The chances are that he would have been succeeded in his Manila palace not by a woman in a yellow dress but a Communist guerrilla leader in jungle combat gear.

One day President Aquino may have to fight the Communist army, but she has bought time for herself and her people, and us.

President Reagan at first would have preferred a Marcos victory. But something was happening in

Washington as well as Manila. People stuck their necks out — State Department officials and military men like Adm. William J. Crowe, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. They persuaded Mr. Reagan that the security of American bases in the Philippines, and of the entire American political position in the islands, would be swallowed in chaos and perhaps Communism if Mr. Marcos stayed.

The Philippine revolution flew to South Korea. It has flown to Panama. It will fly wider as word sinks in that something is happening in Washington aside from televised hearings of sleaze and arrogance.

Mr. Reagan and Secretary Shultz would have been furious and properly denounced if they had stuck with Marcos, Duvalier, the South Korean junta and that Panamanian general.

They did not and that is part of history and the daily lives of millions of people far from Washington and from Admiral Who and Colonel What'sname. So a little applause will not hurt. It always pays to praise people wise enough to come around to your own way of thinking.

Washington's new distaste for dictators.

Mr. Nixon, Please Come Back

By Daniel Schorr

DEAR Mr. Nixon: You are very much missed around here. This may surprise you, coming from one who was listed among your "enemies" and the target of an F.B.I. investigation. So, I hasten to explain.

You were, compared to the incumbent, a hands-on President. You left no doubt about who was in charge. No commission ever had to report that it was hard to establish responsibility for White House decisions because of your managerial style.

In that respect, you were like President Lyndon B. Johnson. When it was revealed that the C.I.A. had been bankrolling the National Student Association, his aide, Douglass Cater, cautioned him against denying knowledge — even though he had not known. Mr. Cater said the public

Daniel Schorr is senior news analyst for National Public Radio.

would never believe that President Johnson was unwitting.

When you tried to push off responsibility for Watergate, first on John W. Dean 3d, then on H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman, it didn't fly. That was because we knew of your compulsive involvement in every White House decision, from sending Henry A. Kissinger to China to skipping soup at a state dinner.

I could imagine your saying, "Trading arms with Iran for hostages in Lebanon might be the popular thing to do, but it would be wrong!" Yet I could not imagine your ever trying to get away with saying that perhaps you signed a "finding" authorizing such a deal — but couldn't actually remember having done so.

Similarly, if Mr. Kissinger had tried something so un-Kissingerlike as saying that to protect you he had destroyed your signed document without telling you, both of you would have been laughed out of the White House. And, unlike President Reagan, the chances are slim that you would have asked for outside aid for the Nicaraguan contras without also sug-

gesting where the money might come from.

For example, when you discussed hush money for the Watergate burglars, you were the first to say that you knew where to lay your hands on a million dollars. That's what I mean about a hands-on President.

Your Oval Office tapes show that you were in on every scheme, never letting the tiller slip from your grasp. With you, Howard H. Baker Jr. could have asked, "What did the President know and when did he know it?" No one would have dreamed of asking, "What did the President forget and when did he forget it?"

And speaking of tapes, you would certainly not have let subordinates destroy your records without your permission. That, in fact, is why the tapes survived — give or take 18 minutes or so.

Like Mr. Reagan, you denied a lot, but your deniability was never very plausible. We appreciated that. And, because you were a take-charge President, you also had to take charges. The Reagan days make us yearn for the old Nixon days when things were "perfectly clear."

WASHINGTON | James Reston

The Brighter Side

At the end of these past two weeks of the Iran-contra hearings, the mood in Washington is much better than it was at the beginning. Secretary of State Shultz lanced the poison. He told an alarming story of corruption at the top of the Government, and by letting it all out he somehow managed to restore a sense of truth and purpose to the proceedings.

In doing so, he demonstrated that unelected, unconfirmed and virtually unknown staff officers in the White House can make major foreign policy decisions by deceiving the President and distorting the normal system of accountable democratic government.

But second, and equally important, Mr. Shultz and these committees also demonstrated that this system of separate and equal powers can be manipulated only so far before it rallies under stress.

This is what has happened in Washington, because one official, without the shield of immunity or the aid of counsel, simply told the truth. Mr. Shultz transformed what had been a lawyers' battle, and in some ways a partisan political wrangle, into a general understanding of what went wrong and what corrective action needs to be taken.

He tried to excuse the President's managerial irresponsibility but didn't quite succeed. He didn't give his own stewardship an "A-plus" either, but he described "the battle royal" within the Government over the shipment of arms to Iran, the "nutty" efforts of the C.I.A. and the National Security Council to assume the authority of the policymakers, the "cock and bull" stories they told in the process, and his own efforts to restore order by offering to resign.

Several good things came out of all

Shultz restored truth and purpose.

this. It was made clear, at least to committee members, that the exercise of government power without accountability is a formula for failure if not disaster; that Congress and the Executive must cooperate if there is to be an effective foreign policy that people can trust, and that every lie leaves a drop of poison in its wake.

These are not merely glittering generalities. After the pain and humiliation of these scandals, it will probably be a long time before the C.I.A. and the N.S.C. confuse intelligence with policy, and run wild over or around the President and the Congress, and a long time too before the Constitution is violated in the name of conservative principles.

Admiral Poindexter tried to blame the press and his fear of leaks for his secret manipulations on Iran and the contras, but the truth is that the Washington press corps did a very poor job on this squalid story.

It was scooped by an obscure magazine in the Middle East on the U.S. arms sales to Iran, and after listening to Mr. Shultz's account of trickery and guerrilla warfare in and around the White House, one has to wonder what all these journalistic plumbers were doing while Ollie was running loose and Mr. Shultz was resigning.

Admiral Poindexter proved that

staff officers can't "protect" Presidents by keeping them in the dark, and that Presidents can't protect themselves by closing their eyes. Colonel North proved that bravery and obedience to the President may be the high road to popularity and wealth, but are no substitute for obeying the law.

And Mr. Shultz reminded us that those in high places are more than the administrators of government bureaus or the writers of the laws, but that they are also, as Walter Lippmann observed many years ago, "the custodians of a nation's ideals, of the beliefs it cherishes, of its permanent hopes, of the faith which makes a nation out of a mere aggregation of individuals."

Congress, too, proved something in these hearings. It staged an educational seminar on the Constitution for a vast audience. It demonstrated that men can differ with good-natured civility, and that there are still some good men we may be overlooking in our search for the next President.

Henry Kissinger said a few years ago that if he had the power to appoint a President, his choice would be George Shultz. Maybe he wouldn't say so now, but here is a man who has run the budget, the Labor Department, Treasury and State, and nobody even mentions him for the White House.

That is a part of "the system" that needs to be analyzed while Washington is in a reforming mood. We have seen recently, almost for the first time, impressive men like Hamilton of Indiana, Foley of Washington, Mitchell and Cohen of Maine, and we keep hearing about Baker of Tennessee and Cuomo of New York and others who are at least as Presidential as the running candidates, but the people don't see them. Maybe it's because they just don't look around.

CRIME, PUNISHMENT... AND KIDS

A small hard-core of violent kids commits the vast majority of serious youth crimes.

Anchorman Tom Brokaw and correspondent Lucky Severson provide a startling look into the desperate lives of the young and deadly.



TOM BROKAW



LUCKY SEVERSON

TONIGHT AT 7PM

NBC NEWS 4



WHAT'S NEW IN BOOK DISTRIBUTION

By Edwin McDowell

RECENT headlines about the book industry have been telling tales of consolidations and mergers. But, quietly all across the land, small publishers have been springing up. Book publishing, after all, is easy to enter. All it takes is a title or two. But it is one thing to publish a book, another to get it into bookstores and into the hands of readers.

Book distribution has always been a complex, competitive business. Now it seems to be growing more so. In 1985, almost 51,000 books were published in the United States, according to the R.R. Bowker Company, yet the typical chain and independent bookstores carry no more than 20,000 titles a year.

The industry's mergers and consolidations have resulted in cutbacks in the number of sales representatives employed by publishers to canvass booksellers around the coun-

try. But those losses have been partly offset by a growing number of independent distributors who have set up shop to distribute the books of small publishers.

Books pose distribution problems of a unique sort. Because each book is different, no two can be marketed alike and distributors must be able to discuss a range of titles. And books are ordered — or passed up — on the basis of whim, jacket design, pressure from salesmen of any number of other subjective criteria.

Moreover, they are one of the few products returnable for full credit, much to the despair of the many publishers who would like to end that time-honored practice.

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich tried to change it in 1981. It instituted a no-returns policy and tried to soften that blow by raising the discount it offered on the wholesale prices of its books. But it could not hold out for long.

Wholesalers bought fewer of its titles, arguing that even the increased discount was not enough to offset the risk of buying on a no-return basis.

Flawed as the existing system may be, industry officials say that booksellers will not take a chance on unknown authors or experimental novels unless they can return those books if they don't sell.

To be sure, getting a book into the hands of a potential buyer has been a problem at least since the 1780's, when "Parson Weems," decked out in his clerical coat, sold books door-to-door, traveling up and down the East Coast — while somehow finding the time to preach, play the fiddle and churn out his own fanciful biographies of George Washington, Ben Franklin and William Penn.

But, with more books and publishers than ever before, the distribution problem is clearly growing.

Turning to the Big Guys for Help

IF big publishers have problems getting their books to readers, their small counterparts — who cannot afford such things as sales staffs, warehouses and computers — are in even worse shape. And that problem is intensifying as the number of small publishers rises.

"To start up in a very crowded and tough marketplace without a strong distributor can be a prescription for disaster," said Laurence J. Kirshbaum, president of Warner Books.

Several small publishers are tackling the problem by having large publishing houses distribute their books. But some smaller publishers have begun attacking the problem differently. Jameson Books of Ottawa, Ill., for example, supplements its bookstore sales with a thriving mail order business. Taylor Publishing, a small publisher in Dallas, fashioned an unusual agreement to distribute the books of another small publisher, Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, N.C.

Distribution agreements vary widely. Some distributors do little more than fill orders and provide warehouse space. But most agreements provide more services for



small publishers. They call for a distributor to try to sell a client publisher's books to the bookstores they visit at least twice a year. They call for inclusion of the titles in the distributor's catalogue. And they set aside time for the small

publishers to show their wares at distributors' sales conferences, held twice a year.

Booksellers like this arrangement because they can combine orders for a variety of small publishers handled by a single distrib-

utor. That gets them larger discounts than if they ordered from each publisher separately. Ordering jointly and receiving only one bill slashes paperwork.

Distributors make regular payments to clients, even if they have a hard time collecting from booksellers. But small — or new — publishers are less likely to be paid on time. The big distributor, after all, is also a big publisher, with a whole range of books the bookseller wants — and will be unable to buy if it has debts outstanding. Of course, distributors charge for their services: fees range from 20 to 30 percent of the retail price of each hardcover book sold, after deducting the cost of returns.

After subtracting that and the average 45 percent discount to bookstores, small publishers whose books are distributed by others are left with 25 to 35 percent of a book's cover price. From that they must pay author's royalties, overhead, salaries, rent and other expenses. There isn't much room left for profit, but a major best seller, or even a backlist book that sells steadily for many years, can help keep a small publisher in the black for a long time.

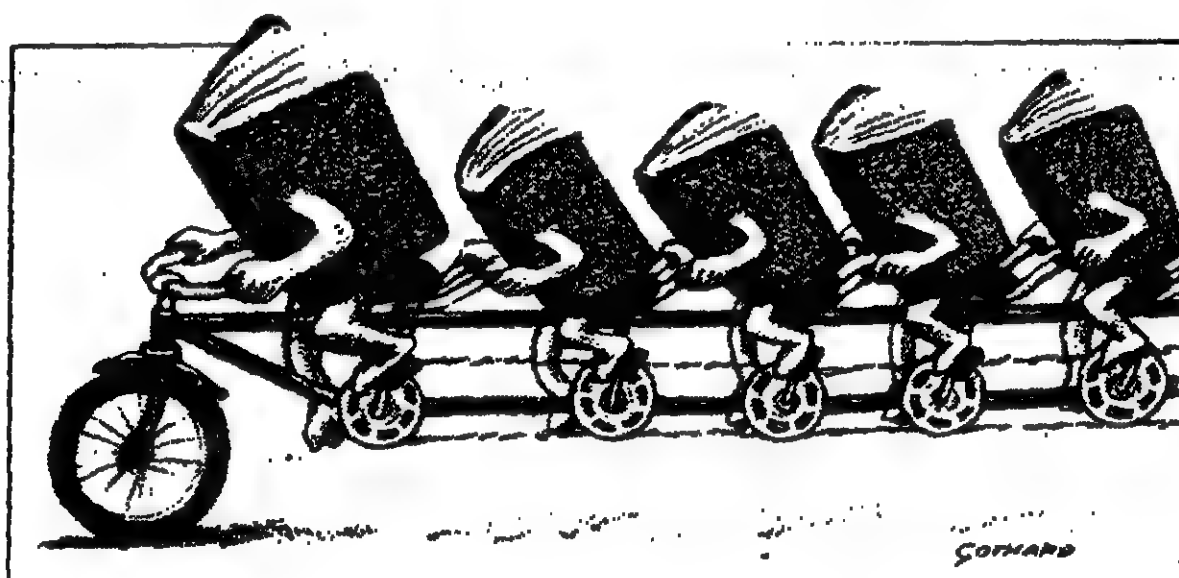
The Importance of Being in Sync

WHEN Warner Books, a power in paperback publishing, started publishing hardcover books a few years ago, it wanted immediate credibility with booksellers. So, in an agreement drawn up on a napkin in a midtown Manhattan restaurant, it struck a deal with Random House, an old pro in the business.

Random House would distribute Warner's hardcovers. In return, Warner would distribute the paperbacks of Ballantine, Fawcett and Del Ray — all Random House imprints — to the mass-market channels it knew best: drug stores and supermarkets, among others. And Ballantine would distribute those Warner paperbacks earmarked for bookstores.

The deal was a success. According to Laurence J. Kirshbaum, Warner's president, distribution income is the best kind of revenue. Publishers, he said, do not pay royalties or authors' advances out of it. "And since you're distributing through a sales force already in place, the money is flowing right through to the bottom line," he added.

This is becoming increasingly important as distributors take a closer look at their own finances. Harper & Row, bought several months ago by Rupert Murdoch, plans to cut back on the 35 publishers it distributes. "We are not go-



ing to eliminate our client business, but we only want to hold on to those that fit and are profitable," said George Craig, Harper's acting chief executive.

Harper's fiscal-year 1986 revenues from book distribution totaled \$4.3 million, according to BP Report, a publishing newsletter. Some clients contributed more than others. "We looked at direct costs related to each account — its contribution to overhead, space utilization, monthly inventory, indirect costs in cash collection and ac-

counting," Mr. Craig said.

Other distributors will surely follow Harper's lead. Some houses say they will not distribute for a small publisher unless its sales are likely to exceed \$500,000 to \$1 million.

Robert L. Bernstein, chairman of Random House, agrees that distribution income is important to publishers. With annual sales over \$300 million for books published by the various Random House imprints, the company earns another \$50 million to \$75 million a year

distributing for a dozen other publishers, including Reader's Digest Books and Sierra Club.

Farrar, Straus & Giroux also does well in distribution. In the past several years, said Roger W. Straus, company president, it "has done a couple million dollars' worth of business" just from distributing the books of North Point Press of Berkeley, Calif., which has published two best sellers — "Son of the Morning Star" by Evan Connell and "West With the Night" by Beryl Markham.

Bringing Help to the Small Publishers

ERIC KAMPMANN started with three clients almost seven years ago, but now his company is the biggest distributor of books by small publishers. His 60 clients include publishers in California, Idaho, New Mexico, Flor-

ida and England.

Mr. Kampmann has given currency in publishing circles to the adage that in unity there is strength. His clients will publish 400 new titles this year, they have 4,000 titles in the backlist and

Kampmann & Company's sales will top \$10 million.

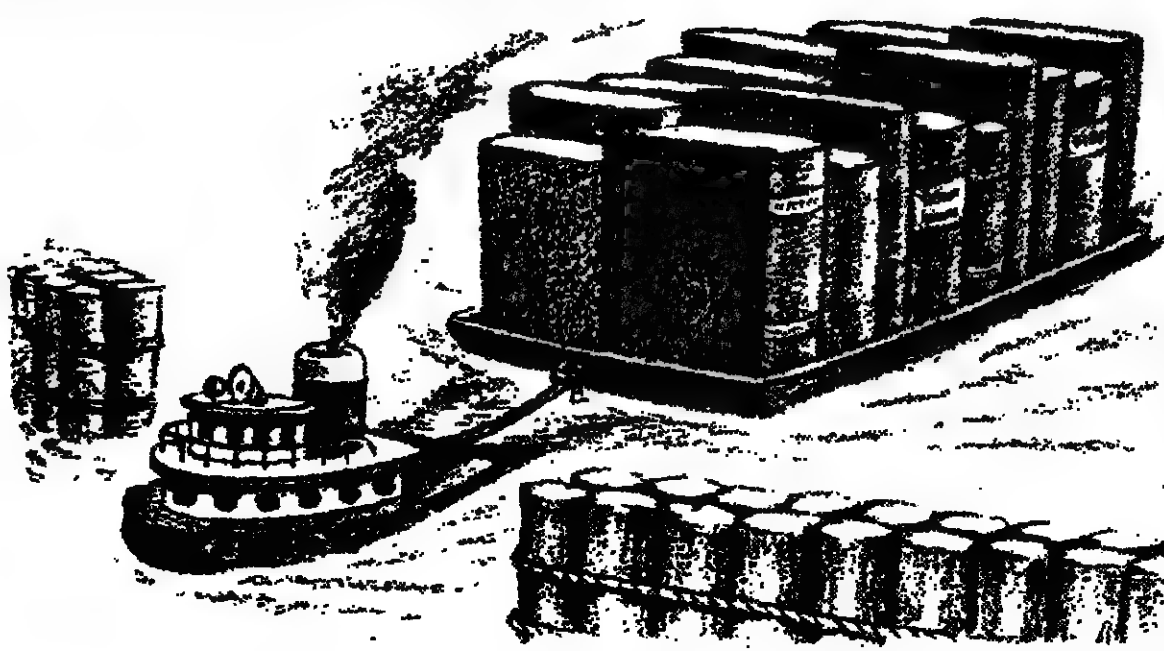
"The man is an absolute genius," said Lawrence Freundlich, whose Freundlich Books were once distributed by Macmillan. "He's made it possible for small publish-

ers to succeed among the giants."

It was while he was working at Simon & Schuster that Mr. Kampmann learned that small publishers had trouble getting their books into stores. "So many came to us for help," he said, "and for the most part we couldn't provide it." His company now will provide advertising help, promotion, publicity, in-store displays and jacket design. But the core of its business is distribution — storing books in its East Rutherford, N.J., warehouse, selling them and billing customers.

Kampmann charges 20 to 25 percent of a book's list price, depending on sales volume, compared to an industry average of 20 to 30 percent. "Our publishers tend to be those in the \$250,000 to \$500,000-a-year range," Mr. Kampmann said, adding that he is equipped to handle a client whose annual sales are as high as \$3 million. Bigger clients, he said, would probably want to do the sales and collections themselves.

Kampmann has four house salesmen and 18 commission reps. Some 40 percent of the company's business is with independent book stores.



The Economy

WEEK IN BUSINESS

G.E.'s Radio Days Come to an End

G.E. is getting out of some of the businesses it has been in since it was founded. In two major deals, it agreed to sell its consumer electronics business for about \$800 million to Thomson of France, which has had some troubles in that field in recent years and needs a boost. In return, Thomson will give G.E. its medical equipment business, providing G.E. with a lift in that attractive, albeit risky, area. And NBC, part of RCA, which was purchased by G.E. last year, is selling its radio network for \$50 million to Westwood One, a producer of programs based in Los Angeles.

The deals illustrate how the original business of an American company can become less attractive as the company matures. G.E., which built its strength in the early days of radio and, later, television, has been lagging in consumer electronics as imports have cut into the American market. Indeed, Zenith will be the sole American survivor in the field. The NBC radio network — which was founded 61 years ago by RCA, G.E. and Westinghouse to help market radios — has been undercut by television. Analysts say that, in this case, it is a wise company that abandons tradition in favor of the bottom line.

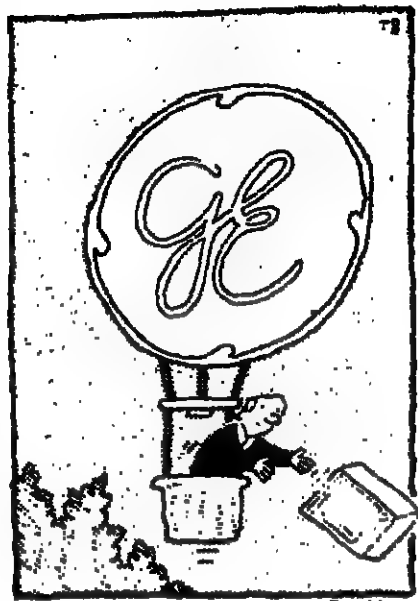
Carl C. Icahn wants to take T.W.A. private. The financier had purchased control of the airline after a big battle, but now he says he wants back the money he invested, to use for "acquisitions that would not be appropriate for the airline." In a complicated deal that he hopes will give him back most of his \$450 million investment, Mr. Icahn offered \$1.2 billion for the 27 percent of the public shares he does not own, or \$40 a share, part of which would come from junk bonds.

Consumer prices rose four-tenths of 1 percent in June, not an outrageous figure but one that is nonetheless ahead of last year's. For the second quarter, prices rose at an annual rate of 4.8 percent, less than the 6.3 percent rate of the first quarter.

That brought a sigh of relief from some economists, who had worried that the first-quarter pace would continue. The gross national product rose at a 2.6 annual rate in the second quarter, far slower than the 4.4 percent rate of the first quarter. The slowdown had been expected. Orders for durable goods rose 1.4 percent in June, led by military orders.

Paul A. Volcker warned that inflationary pressures still exist in the marketplace. In one of his final appearances before Congress as Fed chairman, Mr. Volcker said rising oil prices and the falling dollar create a "critical moment" for policymakers.

Pennzoil offered a plan under which Texaco, in its Chapter 11 reorganization, would pay Pennzoil \$4.1 billion as a major creditor. A court ruling that Texaco owes Pennzoil \$10.53 billion for thwarting Pennzoil's



takeover of Getty was what put Texaco in Chapter 11, but a judge gave it until December to file its own reorganization plan.

The Senate passed the trade bill, setting the stage for a confrontation with the White House. The huge omnibus bill must be reconciled with the House version, but both contain provisions for retaliation against foreign trading partners for unfair practices, measures the President considers protectionist and has vowed to veto.

Stocks retreated in what analysts called a correction after the previous week's records. The Dow Jones industrial average ended at 2,485.33, down 24.71 for the week. Bond prices fell sharply as the Government canceled Treasury auctions because it was over its debt limit.

Black ink. Ford led the Big Three auto makers, earning \$1.5 billion in the second quarter, a 38.9 percent increase. G.M. fell 3.9 percent, to \$980.3 million. Chrysler's earnings fell 12 percent, to \$428.7 million, but that was better than analysts had expected. Digital's net rose 58 percent, below analysts' expectations. GTE's earnings fell 27.7 percent, and MCI was down 50 percent. Merrill Lynch fell 8.6 percent, and it said losses on its bond-trading operations in April were a huge \$377 million because of unauthorized trading. Salomon's earnings fell 65.8 percent, and it announced a major management restructuring. Exxon rose 3.1 percent, but Pennzoil plunged 70 percent.

Red ink. Major banks continued to post big losses because of increased loan reserves on third-world loans. Citibank lost \$2.6 billion, a record quarterly loss for an American bank. BankAmerica lost \$1.4 billion and Manufacturers Hanover lost \$1.37 billion. Fireman's Fund lost \$115.5 million after it increased its loan loss reserves to cover higher claims. Continental Airlines lost \$71.1 million, and its president and chief executive, Thomas G. Plaskett, resigned, leaving the carrier under the direct control of Frank Lorenzo.

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED JULY 24, 1987 (Consolidated)					
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	Standard & Poor's	
400 Indust	368.3	358.0	361.9	-6.41	
20 Transp	258.5	252.6	258.4	+0.99	
40 Util	111.8	108.1	108.9	-2.93	
40 Financial	29.4	28.0	28.3	-0.16	
500 Stocks	314.5	306.1	309.2	-5.32	

Dow Jones					
30 Indust	2512.2	2444.6	2485.3	-24.71	
20 Transp	1057.6	1029.1	1052.4	+6.71	
15 Util	204.8	198.3	199.9	-5.06	
65 Comb	932.8	910.2	925.3	-5.56	

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED JULY 24, 1987 (Consolidated)					
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng		
Wickes	4,922,500	4 1/4			
CamCr	3,891,600	15 1/4			
WangB	3,382,700	16 1/4			
TexAir	3,069,900	31 1/4			
BlockE	2,127,700	6 1/4			
Amdahl	1,441,200	36			
Haahr	1,323,500	22 1/4			
HmeSh	1,132,100	15			
ForstL	1,079,600	25 1/4			
FruitL	919,400	8 1/4			

MARKET DIARY					
	Last	Prev		Last	Prev
Advances	569	1,216	Declines	1,296	723
Total Issues	2,191	2,188	New Highs	192	303
New Lows	68	42			

VOLUME					
(4 P.M. New York Close)	Last	Week	Year		
Total Sales	851,482,800	25,490,580,138			
Same Per. 1986	617,933,310	20,707,168,242			

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES					
	High	Low	Last	Net	Change
New York Stock Exchange	216.5	211.9	213.8	-3.67	
Indus	158.9	157.0	158.6	-0.18	
Util	74.4	72.7	73.0	-1.89	
Finance	152.2	150.6	151.3	-1.37	
Compos	175.9	172.3	173.7	-2.97	

VOLUME					
(4 P.M. New York Close)	Last	Week	Year		
Total Sales	67,971,410	1,981,510,285			
Same Per. 1986	51,885,840	1,882,827,509			

Chinese ponder some basic economic terms

Socialism's 'true' meaning

By JONATHAN MIRSKY

If some Chinese peasants get rich while others remain poor, is that socialism? In Mao's day the answer was easy: such a situation is an affront to "egalitarianism" and the hope for "common prosperity." In a socialist society, everyone was to "eat from the same pot."

Until January and the resumption of a conservative line among some leaders, it was recognized within the party that this policy had resulted in low productivity and, rather than common prosperity, common poverty.

Since the seminal meeting of the party in 1978, at which the rural "responsibility system" was promulgated which erased the communes and returned cultivation to individual families, who were encouraged to "get rich" by producing more than their quota and keeping the profit, words like "egalitarianism" and "eating from the same pot" have become shorthand for condemning the Maoist era.

But although rural enthusiasm, ambition and greed, made for five years of bumper harvests, and created hundreds of thousands of comparatively prosperous peasants, the slogan "get rich" aroused envy, anger, and ideological abuse. Peasants in naturally poor areas, because of climate, soil or lack of water, felt that the policy left them out.

Many rural officials were envious of peasants who were now richer than they. And in the provinces and in Peking, there were ideological purists who contended that communal effort and the belief in equality were now giving way to avarice and materialism.



Deng Xiaoping

(UPI)



Mao Tse-tung

(Camera Press)

The party responded by insisting that the rich are actually cleverer and more diligent and can serve as a model for others. But during the last six months of conservative backlash

"get rich" dropped from sight. Peasants increasingly expressed alarm in *Peasant Daily* that signs were appearing in the countryside of a new centralization which would lead to a resumption of austerity.

Now that the conservatives have been silenced, in accordance with Deng Xiaoping's decision that the October Party Congress must act unanimously in favour of the economic reforms, "get rich" has come back in to ideological fashion.

The *People's Daily*, the party's voice, has admitted that "some comrades are puzzled by the increased gaps in income between different areas and between peasant households in the same area." In order to justify this, the paper must admit once again that the first 30 years of party rule were ones of low productivity, little development and "common poverty." The paper asserts, too, that far from vast differences in wealth, the new rural policies raised the whole standard of peasant life. After 1978, the paper observes, the number of peasants with extremely low incomes dropped from 72.5 per cent to 11.3 per cent.

There has been no polarization, even though high income peasants increased from 0.6 per cent to 28.6 per cent. "Differences in income," the *People's Daily* concludes, are conducive to development of productive forces, and the elimination of poverty. In what would have brought years of jail for the editor a decade ago, the *People's Daily* now asserts "Those with less ability feel the pressure, work harder, and become richer... socialist prosperity can only be prosperity with differences." (London Observer Service)



Above, South Korean woman farmers scatter water to wash down mud in rice field. Thousands of acres of farmland have been submerged in mud waters by flooding. Right, a model of French designer Jean-Louis Scherrer presents a woolen-green jacket during the Fall-Winter 87/88 high fashion collection presentations in Paris.



East Europeans buying less

U.S. farm trade surplus drops substantially

WASHINGTON (AP) — Massive farm subsidies paid by Washington to U.S. grain and other commodity exporters last year failed to halt the slide in agricultural exports to Eastern Europe, the U.S. government conceded this week.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) reported farm exports to U.S. grain and other commodity exporters last year failed to halt the slide in agricultural exports to Eastern Europe, the U.S. government conceded this week.

At the same time, the seven East European nations increased their farm exports to the U.S. from \$263.3m. in 1985 to \$304.6m. last year.

Although the U.S. still enjoyed a farm trade surplus with the East European seven, it was down substantially — to \$128.1m. compared to the previous year's \$215.8m.

The decline in the U.S. farm trade surplus with these countries is even more alarming when compared to 1975-1980 when the U.S. agricultural exports to the region averaged about \$1.57 billion a year, according to USDA, giving the U.S. an average farm trade surplus of nearly \$1.25b.

But the USDA report claimed the decline would have been even greater had it not been for the wheat subsidies offered by Washington in its controversial export enhancement programme.

The subsidies helped boost wheat sales to the area from just \$12.2m. in value in 1985 to \$40.3m. last year, said USDA. Sales of soybean meal and soybeans also rose in value, said USDA.

Mart to cut steel output

BRUSSELS (AFP) — The Commission of the European Economic Community (EEC) had unveiled a six-billion-dollar plan to cut member-nations' aggregate steel production capacity by 25 per cent over two years and create new industries in the areas thus deprived of work.

Under the plan, which is to be submitted to the EC's Council of Ministers for approval, total annual steelmaking capacity in the 12-nation community is to be reduced from 140 to 110 million tons between 1988 and 1990.

Most of the capacity cuts will be borne by facilities producing girders, hot-rolled steel strip, heavy sheeting and other heavy-duty products.

The EC is to provide financial help to French, Italian and Belgian firms to shut down rolling mills, the commission said.

But countries which have already

modernized their production capacity, such as West Germany, the EC's largest producer, and Britain will not be spared under the plan.

The commission has also proposed a series of social measures to help create new industries in Europe's steel-producing regions, to avoid their complete industrial decline.

The measures are designed to attract "small and medium-sized, innovative companies" and will be financed jointly by the community and the regions themselves.

Some 30,000 jobs, out of a total of 370,000 in the 12 member states, are to be cut this year, and another 55,000 cuts are expected for 1988 and 1989, the commission said.

Europe's steel industry has been suffering from fierce competition from new, low-cost products from Southeast Asia, particularly South Korea.

After Baldrige's death

Tough line on fair trade to continue

WASHINGTON (Reuters) — U.S. Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige, who died Saturday, was a top architect of President Reagan's trading policy, but Reagan's tough stance to end the huge U.S. trading deficit will not end with Baldrige's death.

Trade analysts said Baldrige was a soft-spoken but forceful advocate of Reagan's free trading policies, both in talks with U.S. overseas trading partners and in trying to block Congress from passing protectionist legislation.

But, they added, the fight he led for open yet fair trade would be continued by the administration's two other chief trade officials, Treasury Secretary James Baker and U.S. Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter.

Baldrige, 64, died of a heart attack at a Walnut Creek hospital in California, after his horse fell on him at a rodeo event on a private ranch.

Baldrige assumed a low-key role in the administration's fight to halt the growing U.S. trade deficit but was widely considered one of its most effective players.

Analysts credit him with crucial roles in last year's agreement in Punta del Este, Uruguay, to open a new round of global trade liberalization talks under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.



Malcolm Baldrige

(Galt) and to press Japan to open its markets to U.S. goods.

He had been particularly tough with Japan, in both trips there and in remarks directed at Japanese trading practices, in urging the Japanese government to take on a greater role as a leading power in promoting two-way world trade.

As strong an advocate of less government interference in trade as there was in Reagan's conservative cabinet, Baldrige also travelled widely in Communist nations to try to spur U.S. trade with their centrally-planned economies.

He visited China, the Soviet Union and many European nations, both east and west, promoting a free market economy.

Rising interest rates hit World Bank's net

WASHINGTON (AP) — The World Bank, biggest source of aid loans for Third World countries, reported last week that its earnings for the year ended July 30 fell 10.5 per cent because of rising interest rates.

The bank said its earnings totalled \$1.11 billion, compared with \$1.24 billion in the previous year.

The bank said it had only \$54 million in capital gains in the latest year, compared with \$367 million the year before, due to the decline of interest rates in the earlier period and the fact that more older securities in the bank's portfolio could be profitably sold in that year.

In the latest year, interest rates have gone up and the bank has sold fewer of its investments.

The World Bank reported its

operating income increased 20.9 per cent in the latest year, to \$1.059 billion from \$876 million.

Income is returned to the bank so that it can expand lending.

It was the bank's first year under the presidency of Barber Conable, a former U.S. Congressman. Conable is in the midst of reorganizing the 43-year-old bank.

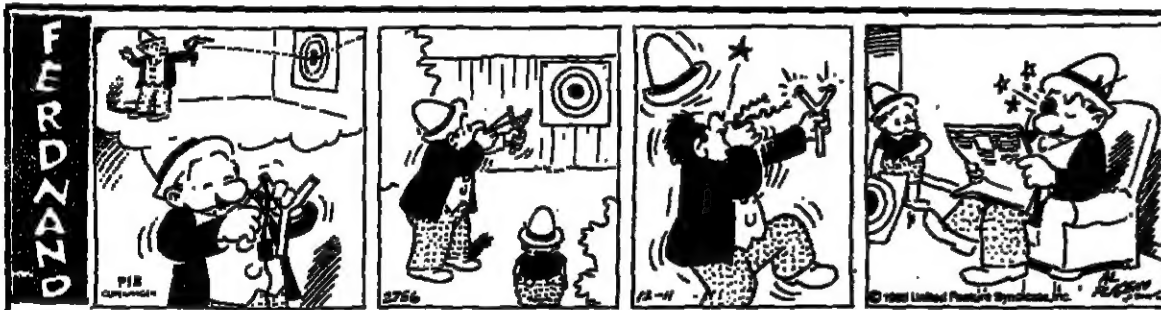
The World Bank, officially the international bank for reconstruction and development, is owned by 151 countries. The U.S. government holds the largest block of shares, with voting rights of just under 20 per cent. It does not have a veto on loans.

The bank gets funds for its loans by borrowing on world markets itself, and by investing the proceeds while they are waiting to be disbursed.

In the year just closed, it made a record \$14.2 billion in new loans to Third World countries, compared with \$13.2 billion the year before, and increased disbursements to \$11.4 billion from \$8.3 billion. A bank statement called the increase dramatic.

These loans are made at variable rates of interest that are linked to the bank's cost of borrowing. They are usually lower than the rates offered by commercial banks and for much longer repayments.

In addition, the bank signed agreements for \$3.5 billion in loans and disbursed \$3.1 billion through its International Development Association. These loans have been for 50 years at less than one per cent interest, and go only to the poorest countries.



CROSSWORD

ACROSS
1 Parker's transgression clamped down on by law? (5,5,4)
8 To stroke a girl to rash (7)
9 Not obvious a relative has a right (7)
11 French puppet grand in a horror play (7)
12 I've been using a double-disc (7)
13 Line fabric played in a French department (5)
14 Vehicle of a G.B.S. play liable to upset (5,4)
16 A case for the papers (9)

19 Animal arrived late (5)
21 Talks about blow-outs? (7)
23 Metal of initial concern these days I keep quiet about (7)
24 Lamb's position in the team? (7)
25 Look after little Ronald, the young shoot (7)
26 Kind of discussion calling for a brew of rather hot tea (5-2-5) discuss (7)

40 minutes one spent with an attractive female (5)
5 See Cuba differently for that reason (7)
6 It's the Pacific I associate with a group of islands (7)
7 Lively members of the E.T.U.? (6,6)
10 Concerning payment for moving home, perhaps (12)
15 Unprofitable outcome of a brawl (4,5)
17 Music finding 20 out (7)
18 Mineral self-correcting on average (7)
19 Rebel Jack went to New Zealand to find a part of a notable movement (7)
20 Novel detective encountered around troubled Riga (7)
22 Trust misplaced in one giving support (5)

Yesterday's Solution

POPSTARE BRACER
L U A B E
CHINCHIN AUKEP
K E N S T A E
UNRAISED PLATEN
P S N A B E I T
CHAINSTORE
S L A A T S N D
PRESSINGON
A S K O P A S M
RESULT APPROPRIE
E L G E U E T
MANUAL SADDAGE
A E V C E I R
NODDED READINGS

QUICK SOLUTION

ACROSS: 7 Fought, 8 Knight, 10 Assault, 11 Tally, 12 Lure, 13 Frank, 17 Trail, 18 Tree, 22 Tring, 23 Ripeful, 24 Comedy, 25 Intern, 26 Wags, 1 Aftable, 2 Nursery, 3 Shout, 4 Instant, 5 Agile, 6 Stays, 9 Starlight, 14 Tragedy, 15 Drifter, 16 Healing, 19 Stock, 20 Pigmy, 21 Spank.

QUICK CROSSWORD

ACROSS

1 Break free
4 Talon
8 Strong box
9 Distant past (4,5)
10 Copy
11 Roman emperor
12 Child's toy
14 Elegance
15 Simple
18 Period of time
21 Mountain range
25 Sound measurement
26 Bury
27 Forefinger
28 Fireside

DOWN

1 Greek mathematician
2 Hold dear
3 Pasty sum of money
4 Hypocritical talk
5 Diminish
6 Accurate (4-2)
7 Freezing rain
13 A bleach
16 Jumper
17 Indian leader
19 Fruit
20 Walked
24 Wild mountain-goat

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Elitz 72333 Rehovot 451333

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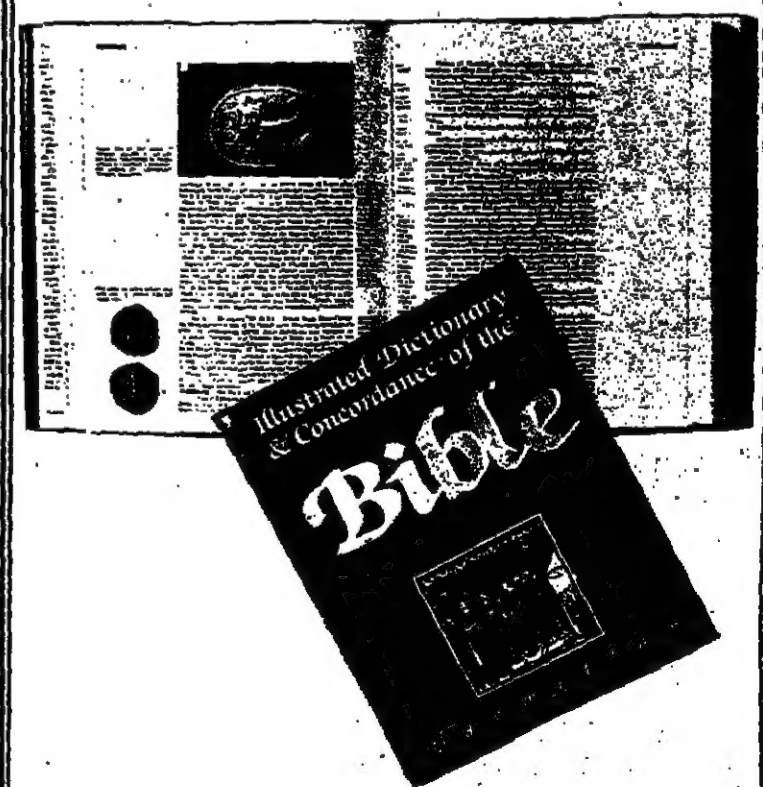
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Five days for six

LOOKING BACK now, it must seem more than a trifle strange that a successful outcome in the jumpy public-sector labour negotiations should have come to hinge on the Treasury's acceptance, however conditional, of the Histadrut's demand for a five-day-week for the country's civil servants. Histadrut leaders could not have failed to realize that the price of a shorter work-week would be a near freeze on wages.

Perhaps Yisrael Kessar, the Histadrut's secretary general, and his sidekick Haim Haberfeld, head of the trade union department, figured that in present circumstances, with stringency the hallmark of economic policy, the chances for a significant betterment of wage rates in the public sector were not too good, despite the fact that a new general election may be looming. So, they might as well try to vindicate their claim on worker leadership by securing for their public-sector constituency not higher wages, but fewer working days.

Shaiving the work-week by half a day, without reducing the total number of working hours, may not amount to much. But it is something, and not only when the scorching heat of summer is taken into account. In a country where there is only one mandatory day of rest per week, the availability of still another day for transacting personal and family business or even for recreation is not to be sneezed at.

As the health minister, Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino, put it, it is also good for one's health.

The gravest charge that could be levelled against the Histadrut for making a virtual ultimatum of a five-day-week is that it was to be applied first in the already overmanned public sector, and without any deep study of its likely effect within and outside that sector. Wisely, the Histadrut made its demand more palatable by pledging that the changeover would neither force a reduction in the amount of work done, or an increase in employment.

It was partly on this understanding that Finance Minister Moshe Nissim junked any notion of setting up a committee to probe the issue - Israel's standard footdragging device - endorsed the five-day-week idea, and got the government's approval, by a large majority, yesterday.

At the same time the government, at Mr. Nissim's own urging, added several conditions to its acceptance that were not listed by the Histadrut. The new labour agreement in the public sector will be for two years; there will be no global pay rises, except in the lowest grades, and no consequent budget rise; and the workforce will not simply be frozen, it will be shrunk.

On the surface the conditions are not unreasonable, and Mr. Kessar's comments suggested fundamental consent.

After all, it is not the Histadrut's fault that advantage has not so far been taken of the normal retirement of civil servants to reduce their overall number, and that supposed vacancies in the public sector are often filled with political appointees, especially at the higher grades. Output in the public sector is hard and sometimes impossible to measure, but raising it both qualitatively and quantitatively is surely more a matter of organization and morale than of working days. Or even working hours.

All the same, there are areas of the public service in which the calculus of work-days is of considerable importance. It is thus not entirely surprising that the police minister voted to reject the proposed arrangement, and the defence minister abstained in the vote.

It would be comforting to believe that the two Liberal ministers who parted company in the matter with their party colleague from the Treasury also had their minds set on the good of the public sector. But it would also be rather naive. Their "liberal" vote echoed the terrified argument of the Manufacturers' Association that the norm of a five-day-week might soon enough spread into the private sector as well.

A five-day-week has in fact already been introduced with success in some industries. That does not mean that generalizing it would not meet with difficulties. One of Mr. Nissim's conditions, adopted by the government, has therefore been that private sector representatives will be in on the public-sector labour talks. But labour policy in neither sector can be governed by a mentality that sees in a long work-week and a low wage the determinant of productivity.

ISRAEL has a problem managing its economy. The problem can be solved without difficulty if the country is run like a business, not like a mutual-benefit society.

Anybody reading the latest collection of papers issued by Israel Katz's Centre for Social Policy Studies ("Israel's Social Services 1986-87," now published in English) cannot avoid reaching that conclusion.

Wages have risen in real terms by one third in 1970-85, but income inequality has become more pronounced. The Gini index (which measures this inequality) has risen from 0.31 to 0.35.

How did it all happen? Industry had the highest wage hikes with its workers' earnings shooting up in the same 15-year period by three quarters (as against the national average of one third). However industry in 1985 was not the same as the industry that existed in 1970. Had it been the same, the wage rise would have been only 53 per cent. CSPP experts calculate.

What happened was the contraction (or slow growth) of old, low-wage industries and the parallel expansion of high-wage industries. Employment in "textiles and clothing" for example sank from 21.5 per cent of the labour force to 17.5 per cent.

That should have been a cause for alarm and distress, had there not been at the same time an expansion of employment in "electrical and electronic equipment" from 6.3 to 10.1 per cent of the labour force. In other words, the dismissal of workers from contracting or bankrupt industries, while causing hardship in

the short term, made way in the longer term for a hike in workers' living standards.

If the new industries pay more (while the poor are still with us), the income gap must obviously widen. This, say the authors of the volume, increases the role of the government's social-policy expenditures in reducing disparities.

DESPITE ALL the economies made during the Eighties in the social services, outlays have been rising. In 1986 the social-affairs budget was 8 per cent greater than in 1984 - and there is an explanation for that too. Institutional services (education, health) have not grown. What did grow was income maintenance.

In 1970, this accounted for 31 per cent of the government's outlays on social policy, in 1986 for 45 per cent. During the decade and a half, expenditures on services in kind increased two-and-a-half-fold, whereas "transfer payments" expanded four - or five - fold.

Chief outlets for these funds were (fortunately) not unemployment relief but old-age pensions, and after that child allowances. Expenditure on old-age and survivors (excluding payments from the benefit and pension funds which are not government-owned) soared in the 13 years 1970-83 nearly fourfold. The number of recipients is now 310,000. Criteria for the child allowance were tightened in 1984. The first

For whose benefit?

David Krivine

infant now gets no allowance (unless the family has four children or more), and that change has reduced the number of juveniles rating the allowance by one quarter. During the same two-year period, however, the size of the allowance rose by 30 per cent - so outlay expanded by 25 per cent in the end (despite the drop in numbers).

THE ABOVE extravaganzas have put the government in a quandary. There is not enough money in the till, and efforts on the part of the Treasury to tighten the belt have caused frenzied opposition from the interested parties (that is, those employed in the social services). Is it possible to spend less without, as the professional unions lament, wrecking the entire facility?

The number of employees in the school system over the last 25 years has risen by 4 per cent every year, even though the rate of increase in the pupils dropped from 3.6 per cent per annum in the decade before 1974 to 2.9 per cent in the decade after 1974.

The relevant CSPP paper says: "The question arises whether it would not have been preferable to moderate the expansion of the labour force in education and devote the saved resources to improving the

quality of instruction" - by investing in other, non-labour inputs, etc.

The same applies to the health services, where medical and paramedical personnel complain bitterly of being hard done by. The number of employees rose in the decade prior to 1974 by 3.9 per cent which was not unreasonable, given that the number of hospitalization days increased by 3.7 per cent.

But in the decade after 1974, hospitalization days increased by only 1.1 per cent per annum. Yet the number of employees in the health services rose faster than before, by 4.5 per cent per annum.

Were they making up for some sort of shortfall by international standards? Not in the slightest. True some countries can match and one or two even exceed the proportion of the labour force that Israel employs in the health sector (5.5 per cent). Yet four countries - the U.S., Britain, Ireland and Denmark - manage with less. And we are comparing Israel with highly industrialised OECD member nations, not with the Third World.

Nurses' organizations in Israel complain that they are understaffed. The country employs 6.5 nurses for every thousand inhabitants. Six of the OECD territories employ as many or more; three - the U.S., Finland and Austria - employ slightly less; and "in many countries the rate is much lower, ranging from three to four nurses per thousand."

ON THE other hand, the aged (65 years plus), who need much medical and nursing care, number only 8.9 per cent of Israel's population. They account for 11.2 per cent of the American population and 15.16 per cent of those who live in Western Europe.

The CSPP concludes that "it might be more useful, both for the health-care system and for the employees, to reduce the sector's labour force and channel the savings into higher pay and more substantial work incentives."

ONE LAST point. Taxation in Israel is progressive, taking less from the poor and more from the rich. Social benefits are not the poor get the same as the rich; which is not only unfair, but also financially wasteful.

One small example is maternity leave. It lasts 12 weeks during which the mother gets a tax-free allowance equal to 75 per cent of her last earnings (up to a certain ceiling).

The CSPP suggests instead giving the mother 100 per cent of her wage - but taxing it first. Those with incomes below the tax threshold or only lightly taxed would gain - and they need the gain. Those in the higher tax brackets would lose, but they could manage.

The net budgetary outlay would not be greater than it is now, thanks to the tax recoup. The system would give more help where it is required. It would contribute its share to reducing the income gap and lowering the above-mentioned Gini index.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

"Dear Member - Now you're allowed to change your doctor once every six months."

THAT'S THE message boldly proclaimed by a recent Kupat Holim Clalit poster from which an attractive young female doctor also beams down as if she is encouraging patients to seriously consider such a step. This is the way the Health Fund has chosen to introduce, initially in certain areas only, its new concept of patient mobility. Now when a patient is dissatisfied with his or her clinic doctor, he will be able to easily transfer to another doctor more to his liking, something which in the past was very difficult to do.

Undoubtedly, considerations mainly related to consumer satisfaction within the Fund motivated this new move. Nevertheless, it is salutary to take a look at the issues it raises in order to decide how we actually ought to feel about its introduction.

Community care within Kupat Holim revolves principally around its neighbourhood clinic system (there are also some "independent" doctors who look after a relatively small proportion of Fund members), whereby each family doctor looks

Changing places

A.L. Furst

after a population of about 1,500 patients. Apart from births, deaths, and patients moving in and out of the clinic's area, such populations usually remain remarkably stable over a period of many years.

This is in contrast to a free-market system in which patients choose their own doctors, and indeed often do so not only by the different illnesses they experience but also by the different parts of their bodies. In this latter type of set-up, it is not uncommon for patients to be seeing several doctors simultaneously, but independently of each other, for different complaints.

Such care is by definition fragmented in nature, rather than integrated or whole-person. Furthermore, a doctor working within such a system has an unstable, floating population which fluctuates over the course of time more or less with the changes in the amount of illness in the area he practices, and with the stock of his professional reputation. The situation is sometimes described as caring for a population which lacks a denominator. Such a doctor may see 10 new cases of cancer in a year. However he cannot have any idea what this means in terms of how common or otherwise this, or for that matter any other condition, is in his practice because it has no stable, permanent membership, or denominator, upon which such a calculation has to be based.

THAT IS one of the reasons that Kupat Holim and many other major primary health care providers throughout the world have adopted a policy of medical care based on a stable population with a known denominator. Such a system ensures in advance that each patient has a medical address to turn to at any future time of trouble, an address which constitutes the natural focal

point where all his medically related information can be gathered, collated, stored, and relevant bits of it passed on to other medical agencies by his family doctor when this is judged necessary. This information bank grows over time to encompass all the details of his past and present medical history, including previous operations and drug therapy, as well as other important information such as allergies, familial illnesses, blood group, immunization status and so on.

If such a personal medical data base is complete, and kept up to date, then correctly used it can act as a powerful safeguard of the patient's health - for example preventive, unnecessary or duplicated treatment at the hands of other doctors who would otherwise remain unaware of the patient's medical history.

A stable population also allows each family doctor to get to know his patients, their families, and their backgrounds over a period of many years. This not only permits the development of a trusting relationship between both parties, but in itself is often a powerful therapeutic tool, but also lays the foundations for what is indisputably the most efficient and effective arrangement possible for the follow-up and long-term treatment of chronic physical and mental disease in the community.

Last, but by no means least, a defined population allows family doctors to undertake a wide variety of health promotional activities within their practice such as preventive medicine or health education, something just not possible in a free-market system with an undefined, open-ended population.

When I want, say, to discover those patients in my practice who need a routine blood pressure check, or to review the immunization status of children in a certain age-group, it is a simple task for me to go through my practice patient list and earmark everybody who fits into the required category. It is then easy to ask them to come in for the required test, or to check over the relevant children's files to see which of them have missed injections.

Similarly, when I want to give a talk to mothers of young children about how to cope with their offspring's minor health upsets at home, I can easily select from my list all the mothers in this category thereby ensuring they will all get an

invitation to the discussion. Again this is something which a free-market system would effectively preclude.

KUPAT HOLIM by no means has a monopoly on the denominator population approach and many independent or semi-independent family practitioners in Israel also operate in this way. They make it clear at the outset to prospective patients that they will be expected to stay with the practice in the long term, and agree to have all their health care needs regulated through it.

Fortunately, the vast majority of such medical "marriages" between family doctors and their patients are mutually beneficial. The patient's gain from such a relationship lies in the high quality of integrated and comprehensive (rather than fragmented) care he receives, and the family doctor's reward is to be found in the high professional level, incorporating many of the distinctive skills he learned during his period of specialization.

Inevitably, a few cases of incompatibility arise in such relationships and occasionally a "divorce" between the parties may be judged to be the best solution. In such circumstances it is only prudent that the feuding parties agree on such a separation if all efforts aimed at reconciliation have failed. Kupat Holim's new regulation is apparently intended to make such a step less painful, at least as far as the patient is concerned, and this is certainly to be welcomed.

However the fund's apparent gentle encouragement of such a move through its advertising campaign would seem to be less praiseworthy, as is the apparent discrimination towards its medical staff suggested by the manner in which the step has been publicized. After all, it may be just as much the doctor as the patient who feels the need for a parting of the ways. In all fairness, the Health Fund should make the move just as easy for the former to accomplish as the latter on those hopefully rare occasions it sadly proves necessary.

Dr. Furst is chairman of the Association of Family Physicians.

READERS' LETTERS

MISSSED OPPORTUNITY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - I am one of the American volunteers who visited my beautiful country, Israel, with my shipmates who served illegally 40 years ago to bring (over 40,000) immigrants to the hostile shores occupied by the British. My only regret is that the Israeli media missed a wonderful public relations opportunity by not paying more attention to this historic visit of North Americans who worked and fought and died for this yet unborn State in 1947. The average

Israeli mostly looks at Americans as people who are good for only one thing: giving money. Very few know that over 200 Americans died in helping to create this beautiful state. Next year, there will be a Machal reunion of volunteers from all over the world. I do hope that they will be recognized better than the North Americans who served in Aliya Bet.

HARRY WEINSAFT
Crew member -
Exodus 1947
Detroit, Michigan.

NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - As an answer to the 38 British MPs who support the nomination of Mordechai Vanunu for the Nobel Peace Prize (July 19), I would like to nominate retroactively Mr. Burgess, Mr. McLean and Mr. Philby for the Nobel Peace Prize. After all, their disclosures of British secrets to the USSR were vital for world peace in a global context.

Surely Graham Greene, Auberger Waugh and Piers Paul Read would see the point also and advocate the return of those still alive to Britain as free British citizens, should they so desire.

ILSE ILANI
Tel Aviv.

HEART DISEASE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - I refer to your Health Scan of June 16 and wish to point out that the study on heart disease among Jewish and Druse high school students will not be conducted by me, but by Dr. Nathan Rogin, who is director of our department of cardiology.

E. HAZANI, MD
Director,
Nahariya Hospital
Nahariya.

THE 53RD STATE

in the Negev and lay an oil pipeline from Saudi Arabia and Bahrain through Israel to the Mediterranean. All Israeli ports would be available to U.S. navy and commercial ships, thus reducing the importance of the Persian Gulf.

For Israel, it would be wonderful: it would have its own governing body, duly elected by the citizens of Israel, with all States' rights to determine its special needs.

SIDNEY COHEN
Palm Beach, Florida.

IPO CONCERTS IN HAIFA

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - Doris Katz's letter of July 16 critical of the IPO concerts in Jerusalem expressed perfectly the sentiments of the IPO subscribers in Haifa. I know at least a dozen subscribers in my series who did not renew their subscriptions for similar reasons.

DR. A.S.R.
(Name and address supplied.)
Haifa.

WILD PIGS are running rampant in the paddy fields of China's southern Jiangxi province because the South China tigers that used to eat them are dying out, the China Daily reports.

The Forestry Ministry estimates that only about 30 of the tigers are left in the wild because of illegal hunting.

The newspaper said some conservationists believed the number was even less than 30, making the tiger's survival chances even bleaker than that of the giant panda.

One result of the decline of the tiger population has been that more wild pigs survive to eat up large tracts of paddy fields causing heavy grain losses.

POSTSCRIPTS

A SWEDISH author has decided to try to piece together his only copy of a 250-page book manuscript that was accidentally shredded into 50,000 thin strips of paper, a Stockholm newspaper reports.

Business consultant Ulf af Trolle worked periodically for 13 years on the book about ways to solve economic troubles in Swedish companies, the *Aftonbladet* daily said. He had finished his work in April.

However, an employee at a shop that was to copy the manuscript

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